Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bosnian Government To Present Two New Maps *[AFP]* 1
Karadzic Proposes Local Referenda To Judge Maps *[Belgrade Radio]* 1
UN Head Says Croatian Attack Threatens Mandate *[TANJUG]* 1

ALBANIA

Ruli Discusses Amendments to Tax, Tariffs Laws *[ATA]* 2

BULGARIA

Zhelev Leaves To Attend Davos Economic Forum *[Sofia Radio]* 3
World Bank Experts Arrive To Discuss Loans *[BTA]* 3
Cabinet Holds Closed Meeting on Serbian Convoys *[BTA]* 3
Berov Not To Risk War Over Sanction Breaches *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Berov: Responsibilities Unclear for Danube Embargo *[BTA]* 4
Patrol Boats Fail To Stop Serbian Tanker Barges *[BTA]* 4
Deputy Minister Views Military Industry Plans *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 22 Jan]* 5
SDS Council Adopts Membership Decisions *[Sofia Radio]* 5
BSP Leaders Return From Greece, Israel *[BTA]* 6
'Privatization Police' Needed To Control Process *[KONTINENT 23-24 Jan]* 6
Berov Reassures Trade Unionists on Incomes Policy *[Sofia Radio]* 6

CZECH REPUBLIC

New Generation Seen Taking Over in U.S. *[TELEGRAF 25 Jan]* 7
Bomb Scare Forces Adjournment of Parliament *[CTK]* 8
Havel To Invite Slovakia's Meciar to Inauguration *[CTK]* 8
Havel Supports Intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina *[CTK]* 8
Parliament Chairman Implicated in Scandal *[MLADA FRONT DNES 26 Jan]* 9
Number of Aliens, Conditions for Citizenship Given *[LIDOVE NOVINY 23 Jan]* 9
Rules for Commercial Banks' Deposits Tightened *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 26 Jan]* 10
Baudys Analyzes State of Army, Ministry *[RESPEKT 25-31 Jan]* 10

SLOVAKIA

Meciar Calls for More Professionalism in Parliament *[CTK]* 13
'Armed Conflict' With Hungary Ruled Out *[Bratislava TV]* 13
Second Ballot Fails To Select Next President *[Bratislava TV]* 13
HZDS Blamed for Failure *[CTK]* 13
Kovac's Past Seen as Presidential Disqualification *[NARODNA OBRODA 25 Jan]* 14
Knazko Criticizes Kovac *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 26 Jan]* 14
Meciar Confirms Nomination *[CTK]* 15
Knazko Accused of Breaking Party Discipline *[CTK]* 15

HUNGARY

Estonia's Laar, Antall Discuss Business Ties *[MTI]* 16
Joint Economic Committee Discussed *[MTI]* 16
Fur, Albania's Zhulali Discuss Balkan Issue *[ATA]* 16
International Guarantees Sought *[Budapest Radio]* 17

Serbian Tanks Blockade Border Checkpoint *[AFP]* 17
Foreign Affairs Committee Elects New Head *[MTI]* 17
Editorial Comments on Horn's Resignation *[NEPSZABADSAG 26 Jan]* 17
National Liberals Continue To Back Antall *[MTI]* 18
HDF Leader Criticizes Press Distortions *[MTI]* 18

POLAND

Lech Walesa Talks to Journalists *[Moscow IZVESTIYA 27 Jan]* 19
Speaker Chrzanowski Interviewed on Sejm Issues *[SLOWO POLSKIE 18 Jan]* 20
Finance Minister Osiatynski Discusses Budget *[NOWA EUROPA 22-24 Jan]* 21

ROMANIA

Clinton's Difficulties in Keeping Promises Noted *[ROMANIA LIBERA 20 Jan]* 24
Dailies Report on 'Bugging Scandal' *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 20 Jan]* 24
Spiroiu, Dutch Defense Minister Sign Protocol *[ROMPRES]* 25
Iliescu Protests Serbian Sanctions-Busting Barges *[AFP]* 25
Second Serbian Barge Convoy Refuses To Stop *[Bucharest Radio]* 25
'Constraint' Measures Ordered *[ROMPRES]* 26
Yugoslav Ship Disobeys Order *[ROMPRES]* 26
Serbian Barge Convoy Reaches Prahovo Port in FRY *[ROMPRES]* 27
Difficulties in Stopping Ships Outlined *[ROMPRES]* 27
Ecological Disaster Foreseen if FRY Ships Burned *[ROMPRES]* 27
Serb Tugboat Passes Calafat; Does Not Halt *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
UN Contacted on Embargo Breach *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
Press Blames West for Serb Barge Crisis *[ROMPRES]* 28
Authorities Try To Stop Yugoslav Convoy *[Bucharest Radio]* 28
Communique Issued *[Bucharest Radio]* 28
European Association Agreement To Be Signed 1 Feb *[ROMPRES]* 29
Vacaroiu, Ambassadors Conduct 'Positive' Dialogue *[ROMPRES]* 29
Turcu Refutes Allegations of CIA Involvement *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 18 Jan]* 29
Measures Adopted To Continue Economic Reform *[ROMPRES]* 30
Crime Situation 'Alarming,' Says Minister *[ROMANIA LIBERA 16 Dec]* 30

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Karadzic Views Geneva Peace Plan *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 25 Jan]* 34
HVO Assails 'Extremist' Attacks on Busovaca *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Croats Ask Muslims To Stop *[VJESNIK 27 Jan]* 37
HVO Units Clash With Muslims Near Busovaca *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Izetbegovic, Boban Agree on Immediate Cease-Fire *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Muslims, Croats Sign Cease-Fire *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Army 'Adequately' Responds to HVO Attacks *[Sarajevo Radio]* 38
'Ready To Negotiate With HVO' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 38
HVO Official Sends Letter to Bosnian Army Chief *[Zagreb TV]* 38
Serb Success in 'Strong Counterattack' on Muslims *[TANJUG]* 39
Croatian Leader on Busovaca's 'Treacherous Truce' *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
HVO Chief Orders Halt to Attacks on Bosnian Army *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Croats To Support Humanitarian Aid Deliveries *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Aid Convoys Blocked *[AFP]* 39
'Chetniks' Shell Tuzla, Gradacac, Brcko *[Sarajevo Radio]* 40
24 Killed in Sarajevo *[AFP]* 40
Tudjman Warns Izetbegovic Over Muslim Aggression *[TANJUG]* 41
Cease-Fire Reported Holding in Central Bosnia *[AFP]* 41

CROATIA

Tudjman Appeals to Izetbegovic To Halt Attacks *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
Russian Deputy Minister Churkin Arrives for Visit *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
Holds Talks With Tudjman *[Zagreb Radio]* 42

More on Churkin-Tudjman Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 43
Commentary Views Meeting *[Zagreb Radio]* 43
Commentary Urges Normal Relations With Serbia *[VECERNJI LIST 20 Jan]* 44
Nambiar Says Croatian Attack on RSK 'Foolhardy' *[TANJUG]* 45
Admiral Reaffirms Stance on Demarcation Line *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 26 Jan]* 45
Knin Demands UNPROFOR Protection for Croats *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Serb 'Crimes' Against Benkovac Croats Reported *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Serb Forces Said Holding 21 UN Civilian Police *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Krajina Serbs Reject Croatian Truce Proposal *[TANJUG]* 46
Krajina Statement on Opposition Demonstrations *[TANJUG]* 46
RSK Army Issues Statement on Counteroffensive *[TANJUG]* 46
RSK Army Denies Holding French Hostages *[TANJUG]* 47
RSK Denies Claims of Obstructing French Troops *[Belgrade Radio]* 47
Krajina Serbs Claim Rout of Croat Positions *[TANJUG]* 47
Krajina Officer Cited on New 'Ustasha' Operations *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
Atrocities Against Serbian Civilians Reported *[TANJUG]* 48
Questions About Stabilization Program *[VECERNJI LIST 5-6 Jan]* 49
Data on Weapons Supply to Former Yugoslavia *[NOVI VJESNIK 8 Jan]* 49

SLOVENIA

Drnovsek, Croat Counterpart To Continue Talks *[Ljubljana Radio]* 51
Interference in Ambassador's Appointment Denied *[Ljubljana Radio]* 51
Assembly Committees Meet Ministerial Candidates *[SLOVENEC 22 Jan]* 51
Hear Candidates' Agendas *[DELO 23 Jan]* 51
State Chamber Approves Proposed Government *[Ljubljana Radio]* 52

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Army Denies Muslim Charges of Entering Bosnia *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Djukic Voices Hopes in UN, EC for Peace *[TANJUG]* 53
Assesses Talks in Greece *[Belgrade TV]* 53
President Cosic's Position Seen Threatened *[NIN 15 Jan]* 54
Need To Eliminate Foreign Interference *[VOJSKA 7 Jan]* 55

Serbia

Volunteers Reporting To Fight for Krajina *[AFP]* 56
Mistreatment in Muslim-Croatian Camps Detailed *[POLITIKA 26 Dec]* 57
* Situation in Subotica Hospital Called 'Critical' *[MAGYAR SZO 14 Dec]* 58

Kosovo

Bukoshi on 'Gradual Ethnic Cleansing' by Serbia *[Vienna DER STANDARD 23-24 Jan]* 59
Bukoshi Warns Against 'Premature' Intervention *[Vienna DER STANDARD 28 Jan]* 59
European Parliament Delegation Visits Pristina *[ATA]* 59

Vojvodina

* Vojvodina Hungarian Politician on Elections *[Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP 24 Dec]* 60

Bosnian Government To Present Two New Maps

AU2701210493 Paris AFP in English 2048 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 27 (AFP)—The government of Bosnia-Hercegovina will present two new maps to a peace conference in Geneva, President Alija Izetbegovic told Sarajevo television Wednesday [27 January] after the apparent collapse of talks there.

Speaking from Geneva, Izetbegovic said the first map would present six changes to a map drawn up by cochairmen Cyrus Vance of the United Nations and Lord Owen representing the European Community, which would divide Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 provinces, one enclosing the capital, and three each under the control of local Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

The second, he said, was an original map drawn up by his government, which is Moslem-dominated.

It would take into account all social, cultural, geographic and economic factors, as well as road links, he said.

Leaders of the Moslem, Serb and Croat communities earlier this month agreed on the first stage of the Vance/Owen peace plan that maintained a sovereign, unitary state divided into 10 autonomous provinces under the loose authority of Sarajevo.

The second stage involving detailed discussion of provincial boundaries began last Saturday [23 January] but has stalled do to a resurgence of fighting in the Krajina region of Croatia. Each of the rival communities has presented maps as a bargaining counter.

Izetbegovic also said he had demanded that Sarajevo revert to its pre-war war position as a city open to all but with no special status, rejecting demands he said had been made by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on the status of specific municipalities within the capital.

Karadzic Proposes Local Referenda To Judge Maps

AU2701193693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 93

["Excerpt" of telephone interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic, by Dragan Colovic in Geneva on 27 January—recorded]

[Text] [Colovic] Mr. Karadzic, a plenary session should be held tomorrow. Will something happen before that session? Do you expect to meet Izetbegovic again?

[Karadzic] I do not know if there will be a meeting with Izetbegovic. We are certainly going to talk with him indirectly through the cochairmen and present our proposal on the reorganization of Sarajevo. I believe that a plenary session of some sort will be held tomorrow or the day after, but plenary sessions are only for somebody to state he is in favor or against something. That is the most critical moment of the conference, and I think that there are many issues on which representatives of the peoples cannot express their stand. We are now going to tell journalists publicly that we are going to propose local referendums so the maps can be adjusted and rearranged, for only democratic methods of voting can spare us further conflicts.

[Colovic] Mr. Karadzic, at the end, I expect you to respond to the following question: What is your general assessment of the negotiations so far?

[Karadzic] All in all, it is rather favorable for the Serbian side, but I think that it is also favorable for the Croatian and Muslim sides. It is particularly favorable for the Croatian side, which had been unjustifiably given large territories and which will have to give them back, partly to the Serbs and Muslims.

In fact, we have made a great contribution to the conference's success. We have not been caught by the Muslim side's attempts to make us walk out of the conference and, thereby, be accused for its failure. We have certainly made a great contribution, but we cannot accept some things that are unacceptable because we have no right to do so. This is why we are going to suggest local referendums as a means of further work.

[Canak] Thank you.

[Karadzic] My regards to your listeners.

UN Head Says Croatian Attack Threatens Mandate

LD2801033193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0028 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 27 (TANJUG)—U.N. Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali on Wednesday [27 January] evening accused Croatia of widening its attack against the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which he said was absolutely inadmissible.

REUTERS quotes Butrus-Ghali as saying at closed-door consultations at the U.N. Security Council that the Croat forces had continued their offensive and were now shelling new targets in the area of the Peruca dam and the town of Drnis.

The U.N. secretary's remarks were based on a report of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander Lieutenant-General Satish Nambiar, who just returned from the conflict area.

The RSK was proclaimed by Serbs within the administrative boundaries of Croatia where they constitute the majority population following Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslavia.

The U.N. chief said the six-day-old Croatian offensive might jeopardize the mandate of the 16,000 U.N. peacekeepers in Croatia. He did not recommend the withdrawal of UNPROFOR troops from Croatia, but warned that the current developments might have "serious implications" on a debate for renewing UNPROFOR's mandate.

Ruli Discusses Amendments to Tax, Tariffs Laws

AU2701180093 Tirana ATA in English 1117 GMT 27 Jan 93

["On the Further Promotion of the Anti-Inflation Policy—Talk With the Minister of Finances and Economy Genc Ruli"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 27 (ATA)—The Albanian Government passed a series of amendments for the Laws on Taxes and Levies. In regard to further details, the Minister of Finances and Economy Genc Ruli made the following official confirmation on January 26:

The amendments made in the existing fiscal laws are some acts of the package of measures that the government has planned to adopt in 1993 to guarantee the continuation of the economic reform and to consolidate the positive results attained so far. Several objectives will be realised through these changes.

Firstly, the anti-inflation policy the government has started will continue. It is understandable that changes in fiscal laws aim at ensuring some supplementary incomes so that to reduce further the budgetary deficit.

Secondly, these changes are made with the aim of ensuring some stabler incomes in order to cover and finance some indispensable expenditures of the state budget. These expenditures are more specific for 1993. In the budget of this year we have envisaged a further considerable increase of the state investments as compared with 1992, an increase of the fund for social assistance, special funds for the restructuring and support of the most efficient sectors of the economy, and the necessary funds for various programs we have with the World Bank and the European Community. Realisation of these objectives through the state budget demands its necessary funds.

Thirdly, the changes made are aimed at preparing such a fiscal policy which creates possibilities for us to attain the objectives we plan to and to have a programmed economy. The aim of the government in this context is that during 1993 the local production be stimulated. To this end, the tax on profits will not be applied for three years on the local subjects as well along foreign subjects that it was applied so far. The turnover tax and the customs' taxes on materials, machineries, and equipment to be used on productive investments were reduced. This will encourage not only foreign investments but the local ones as well. Besides, many goods, exempted from the customs' taxes are also exempted from the turnover tax. Here are included the humanitarian aid coming free of charge, medicaments of all kinds, some basic food articles, such as cooking oil, sugar, rice, eggs, flour, macaroni. This is made in order not to allow a further price rising of these commodities. Exempted from this tax continue to be also the agricultural machineries and tractors, in order to encourage the mechanization in the countryside.

The fiscal policy of changes in the customs' tariffs protect in one way or another the local production of these commodities, which are still of a good quality and efficient to resist the competition of the imported goods. Lastly, I would like to say that there is a considerable improvement in regard to the levies. So far, they were concentrated only on some sectors of the economy and other economic activities, while now they are also applicable on other sectors of the economy.

Speaking on the main and concrete changes, Mr. Ruli said: The Law on the Turnover Tax has considerably changed. This tax applied during 1992 played an important role for the transition period, despite the weak points it had. The changes have been made to avoid that negative effect of the repetition of the tax in every link. We managed to have the same norm of the turnover tax but in the proposed amendments we have greatly avoided this effect, especially in those important sectors of the economy such as chrome, copper, mechanical sector, timber products.

The turnover tax is applied almost in all the economic activity because according to the existing law it concentrated only on production and trade, now it is applied in the sphere of services, transport, constructions, the PTT [Postal, Telegraph, Telephone] services, tourism, etc.

A change has also been made in the law on the customs' tariffs. The change aims an average increase of 5 percent. The government considers it a preliminary measure with a one to two year effect. This tariffs increase for some goods of industrial consumption. On the other hand, exemptions from the customs list increased. Hence, the goods imported according to bilateral agreements Albania has with various states or organizations, or according to international agreements this law envisages, are exempt from customs' tariffs.

In order to protect national assets, some very limited taxes were also approved with regard to the goods of export. The government does not aim at reducing export through this measure, but for goods such as timber material, fish, etc., it deems it necessary to apply some small taxes.

Zhelev Leaves To Attend Davos Economic Forum

AU2701084093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] A short while ago Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, departed for Switzerland, where he will take part in the Davos World Economic Forum. Our reporter Diyana Yankuluva asked President Zhelev about Bulgaria's expectations and goals in this prestigious forum.

[Begin Zhelev recording] This is a traditional and very popular international forum, at which the basic political and economic problems of Europe and the world are discussed. It offers excellent possibilities to conduct meetings with various people, principally state figures, as well as opportunities to discuss issues of mutual interest. Weeks and months would be wasted if such meetings had to be held separately, but the forum allows us to hold them within a brief period of time and reach agreement on resolving important problems.

I have planned about 10-12 meetings. I will meet [NATO General Secretary] Woerner, EC representatives, [Ukrainian President] Kravchuk, [Belarus President] Shushkevich, Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan, a country with which we have important relations that will develop further, and so forth. With Balkan countries' leaders we will discuss problems related to the developments in Yugoslavia. This is a subject on which I will be one of the main speakers at the forum.

One of the things on which I will categorically insist will be not merely to seek a mechanism for resolving conflicts such as the one in former Yugoslavia, but also a reliable mechanism of compensating the countries which observe the embargo. As you know, we have already suffered once because of observing the embargo against Iraq. Despite our repeated demands and reminders we have not received any compensation. Therefore, in the case of the Yugoslav embargo, we will be very categorical and strict in our demand for compensation, because every month we lose tens of millions of leva.

The juxtaposition of politics and economics at such forums is a risky business, but I nevertheless have the feeling that politics will take precedence, not overshadowing economics, but to mark out a better path to further economic development. [end recording]

World Bank Experts Arrive To Discuss Loans

AU2801150893 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 28 (BTA)—Experts of the World Bank are here for three weeks to assess the situation with a view to granting loans for investment in the private sector and export financing, John Wilton, resident representative of the World Bank to Bulgaria, told a press conference today.

He said the size of the two loans would depend on the needs and potentialities of the private sector, the per capita income and other requirements. The loans will be payable in a 17 to 20 years' term, with a 4-5 years grace period, at free-market instead of preferential interest, which is 7.0-7.5 percent now.

The experts are elaborating the mechanism by which the government will hand over the money to commercial banks. The World Bank mission will select 12 to 14 private and state-owned commercial banks to launch the operation. The banks, whose number will not be fixed in advance, will disburse the loans and will control their utilization.

Mr. Wilton said the World Bank wants to establish a self-regenerating fund with the loan for export financing. In addition, its experts will help Bulgarian commercial banks to improve their performance and private entrepreneurs to prepare viable projects.

The World Bank is already working on three projects in Bulgaria, Mr. Wilton said. It has granted a 93 million dollar loan for the completion of the Chaira pumped-storage power station. Second, the World Bank is working on a telecommunications project together with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Investment Bank. Third, there is a water supply and water treatment project.

Mr. Wilton added that if the latest project is successful, the World Bank will consider financing private farmers and the agroindustry.

He said that the Bank has targeted on these fields because Bulgaria still has limited access to the world financial markets.

The Bulgarian banks which will handle the loan will be selected according to their assets, performance, stability and other banking criteria. However, they will have full discretion to disburse the loans.

Cabinet Holds Closed Meeting on Serbian Convoys

AU2701211693 Sofia BTA in English 2106 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—At an extraordinary closed meeting this evening, the Bulgarian Government considered the strategy for the negotiations on the country's foreign debt, the holding of which is forthcoming, BTA learned from the press service of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers considered the measures to be taken in order to stop and inspect the Serbian tanker barge convoys carrying petroleum products along the Danube.

The Council of Ministers made a decision for a dialogue with Romania to specify the joint measures which the two countries' authorities should apply to stop and

inspect the Serbian tanker barge convoys. This should be done to enable Bulgaria to fulfill its obligations arising in connection with the embargo on Serbia.

Berov Not To Risk War Over Sanction Breaches

AU2701190893 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] We will not risk a Balkan war because of blatant cases of Serbian vessels breaching the embargo on the Danube River, said Prime Minister Lyuben Berov at a news conference in Sofia today. The prime minister supplied exhaustive information on the efforts being made in cooperation with the Romanian authorities to stop the violations. Lyuben Berov once again confirmed that Bulgaria will not send peacekeeping forces to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Berov: Responsibilities Unclear for Danube Embargo

AU2701205693 Sofia BTA in English 2037 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—Bulgaria maintains its position of non-interference in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, Prof. Lyuben Berov, prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, told a news conference with foreign correspondents here today.

He declared Bulgaria would not send any peacemaking forces to Bosnia and Hercegovina. "We are prepared to send them to any other region of the world but not to a neighbouring country," Prof. Berov said in reply to a question.

Commenting on the Serbian tanker barge convoys carrying petrol along the Danube en route to the former Yugoslavia, Prof. Berov said that both Bulgaria and Romania were doing their utmost to stop the progress of the vessels peacefully and make the respective check. He reminded that the captains had warned they would blow up their vessels should any attempt to bar their progress was made. According to Prof. Berov, stopping the vessels by force could have unpredictable consequences. Vessels are stopped by force. [sentence as received]

"There is a problem that should be clarified: Why it is only Bulgaria and Romania that are constantly questioned about these violations along the Danube while nobody seems to be interested where the vessels were loaded, they took their cargo neither from any Bulgarian nor from any Romanian port," Prof. Berov said. "To make us provoke a war by sinking vessels is not the best way out of the situation," the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs said. He emphasized that Bulgaria would take no risk by resorting to force.

The responsibilities for maintaining the embargo along the Danube are not clearly specified, the measures which could be applied to stop a vessel refusing to do so are not listed, nobody assumes the responsibility for the possible use of force, Prof. Berov said when invited to comment on the defects of the UN Security Council resolution.

The prime minister and minister of foreign affairs pointed out there would be no changes in Bulgaria's foreign policy pursued with regard to its neighbours.

In response to a question, Prof. Berov said that after last year's visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Bulgarian-Russian economic relations had actually come to a stall. "Our relations are not what we would like them to be," he said.

Concerning the understanding reached by the foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Turkey in Paris in mid-January to issue a joint declaration on Macedonia, Prof. Berov said that the implementation of the idea would be possibly put off.

Patrol Boats Fail To Stop Serbian Tanker Barges

AU2701203093 Sofia BTA in English 2012 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—According to Mr. Vergil Zankov, chief of the State Shipping Inspectorate in Lom, four Serbian tanker barge convoys are sailing in Bulgarian territorial waters en route to Serbia, BTA learned from its correspondent in the Danubian town of Lom.

The Orasac tugboat pushing five tanker barges with fuel passed by Oryakhovo at 0930 hrs today, it is expected to reach Lom at about 1800 hrs. The Kaimakcalan pushing 10 tanker barges sailed past Ruse at 1000 hrs; the Kumanovo, one of the most powerful Serbian river tugboats, was seen to near Tutrakan at about 1430 hrs; and the last of the four vessels, the Velebit tugboat, was noticed after it had passed by Ruse.

The BTA correspondent in Ruse reported that the competent authorities were on the alert awaiting the appearance of the Kaimakcalan vessel. When it was seen to pass by Ruse, a patrol boat with State Shipping Inspectorate officials, customs officers and one of the two U.S. observers of the United Nations team on board sailed off after the vessel. An attempt was made to contact the captain of the Serbian tugboat on radio but there was no reply. There were representatives of the Romanian authorities on the spot as well: two military cutters, a boat of the Romanian Shipping Inspectorate and a police helicopter. They all tried to bar the way of the Serbian convoy but in vain. There was a 10-kilometre chase along the Danube to the Camadinu Channel, but all attempts of the Bulgarian and the Romanian authorities to stop the progress of the Serbian tanker barge convoy failed and it went away upstream. The U.S. observer in Ruse managed to film the whole operation.

Deputy Minister Views Military Industry Plans

AU2701103093 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Khristo Tomov, "deputy minister of defense and chief of military-industrial bloc," by Rumyana Stanimirova; date and place not given: "Bulgaria's Renewal Requires Renewed Army"]

[Text] [Stanimirova] Mr. Tomov, what are the priorities for the military-industrial bloc, and is it possible to equip our Army with modern equipment given the present conditions?

[Tomov] Our Army proved to be a very patient system. More specifically, it always knew what it wanted and what was to be done, but never interfered in decisions how to accomplish that. The present Defense Ministry leadership will change things precisely in this direction. The defense minister has already announced a course which includes a specific program of renewing and modernizing the Army, particularly its financial support.

If the parliament adopts this project, then the bill itself will be a guarantee of independence while the program is being implemented by subjective factors. In other words, governments will come and go—this is democracy—but everyone will have to adhere to the law. As far as our sector is concerned, I would specifically like to point out a new initiative of the defense minister, which he authorized me to announce. This is a defense program for the future, related to the governmental program on developing private enterprise. Naturally, privatizing military industries is not an issue at all. What is meant is that the Army will be an open system in anything related to its supply—material-technical supplies, foodstuffs, other basic products, and so forth. Thus we will stimulate private enterprise through Army commissions and orders, and simultaneously reduce redundant expenditures.

[Stanimirova] How will you resolve the problems of the military repair plants?

[Tomov] This would depend, on the one hand, on the funds that the state will allocate for rearming and modernizing the Army in accordance with the military doctrine, and on the necessity to bring the system into accord with economic laws on the other. At present the military repair facilities are in an absurd situation and function according to an obsolete system and structure. It is extremely necessary to reregister them because they do not exist presently as judicial entities, and this prevents them from more freely using the credit resources. Of course, the law envisions many forms, and there also are purely financial approaches, through which we could resolve our problems such as orders from abroad and attracting foreign capital investment. We will not allow the system to disintegrate, neither shall we become dependent on external factors. We are preparing a timetable for visits to all military enterprises in order to try to begin a dialogue and resolve the problems.

[Stanimirova] What is your attitude to the three-year moratorium on the privatization of military industry, announced by the president?

[Tomov] We have a positive attitude toward the moratorium. I even think that it should be extended. This is a comprehensive sector, which proved that it could function independently in international markets with products capable of competing. Therefore, the state must not be deprived of it. I also support another thesis, that a serious inventory must be made in the military plants and whatever is no longer necessary must be sold.

[Stanimirova] How do you see the future of trade in military products, and how do you assess the role of the governmental commission on control of the arms trade?

[Tomov] In this area, I support the view of the defense minister that this commission must be downgraded. First of all, it must not be chaired by the defense minister, because we sell only a small amount of our production. Second, the commission must deal with only two things—it must carefully monitor the embargo process and the issue of licenses, and it must also monitor the observance of our internal requirements and restrictions.

[Stanimirova] Are you optimistic against the background of our generally unhappy economic situation?

[Tomov] Of course I am an optimist, although I am dissatisfied with the social status of the military. In the final analysis, we are talking about our motherland. If we want a renewed Bulgaria, we must also have a renewed Army, naturally, with a purely defensive role.

SDS Council Adopts Membership Decisions

AU2601195693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] At its meeting today, the National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] adopted five main decisions:

The National Coordinating Council rejected the application of the Union of Free Democrats for a review of the council's decision to remove the union from the SDS coalition.

In connection with a proposal made by part of the leadership of the Christian Democratic Union to suspend its membership in the SDS, the council held a secret ballot, as a result of which it ruled that at the moment there are no grounds for suspending the union's membership.

The National Coordinating Council issued a recommendation to the SDS parliamentary group to propose to the members of the ASP [Alternative Social Liberal Party] that they should leave the SDS parliamentary group.

According to the decision that the National Coordinating Council adopted regarding the 23 National

Assembly deputies who supported Professor Lyuben Berov's government, it is desirable that the members should officially declare how they would conduct themselves in parliament from now on, and what their attitude will be toward the government that they voted for. This matter is being discussed at this very moment by the SDS parliamentary group at a meeting that started at 1500.

BSP Leaders Return From Greece, Israel

AU2801142493 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 28 (BTA)—A delegation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the BSP-led parliamentary group headed by Zhan Videnov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, and Prof. Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the BSP parliamentary group, returned here today ending official visits to Israel and Greece. The delegation had meetings with the prime ministers of the two countries, parliamentarians, party functionaries and statesmen.

Mr. Videnov described the visits as very successful. Both Israel and Greece showed great interest in the promotion of good friendly relations with Bulgaria in all spheres, Mr. Videnov told BTA. It does not speak well of our diplomacy that this interest has not been materialized yet, the BSP leader said. Too little has been done after 1991 when most active political contacts were established with Israel. Similarly, Bulgaria's relations with Greece made no progress last year, Mr. Videnov went on to say. He added that the two countries's leaders and their major political forces had declared their desire to do their best for the advancement of relations with Bulgaria under the new circumstances now that the country has Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet at the helm.

'Privatization Police' Needed To Control Process

AU2701195193 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 23-24 Jan 93 p 4

[Commentary by Boyko Nikolov: "Solid Guarantees for Privatization—the Deal of the Century"]

[Text] Every society creates the kind of police forces it needs. Hence, the services in charge of combating tax evasion are the strongest security forces in the developed countries today. The same applies to law and order forces dealing with combating illegal drug traffic and terrorism, while the services dealing with other criminal activities and traffic control are considered of lower priority.

Bulgarian society today needs strong police forces combating crime and tax evasion. However, considering that we are about to accomplish the deal of the century for Bulgaria—namely the privatization of our economy—in which both Bulgarian and foreign capital investments of various origins are expected to participate, a sort privatization police force, as we may provisionally call it, is urgently required. It should be in charge of protecting and watching over all transactions related to privatization and over the authentic character of the offers made, because they are of decisive importance for Bulgaria's future. Everyone is aware of the fact that, besides being ruled by politicians, a state is also ruled by its capital.

Accordingly, it is no secret that to be efficient such a police force must be endowed with the prerogatives and facilities of the special services, and that it should even enjoy greater independence and more operational freedom than the aforementioned services, but in the first place, it should be protected against all temptations of a political nature.

Berov Reassures Trade Unionists on Incomes Policy

AU2701084793 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Today Prime Minister Lyuben Berov met with Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, and Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria. The two trade union leaders wanted to be assured that at its meeting yesterday the cabinet had not adopted a unilateral decision on incomes policy.

Mr. Berov assured them that at yesterday's meeting the cabinet discussed the position that Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev is authorized to present at the negotiations with the cabinet's social partners in the National Council for Social Cooperation.

The two sides at the meeting held unanimous views regarding the importance of the problem of people's incomes and the need to resolve this problem in a precise manner. Neither the government nor the trade unions would like inflation in the country to get out of control.

The problem of trade union property was also discussed.

New Generation Seen Taking Over in U.S.

AU2701163393 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech
25 Jan 93 pp 1, 5

[Commentary by Jan Benes: "Everything Was, Is, and Will Be Different"]

[Text] The 42-year-old United States president has taken office. Despite the fact that 58 percent of Americans, that is, a clear majority, did not vote for him. At the glorious moment of his inauguration, this was forgiven him—my country, right or wrong [previous five words published in English]. It was cleverly commented by many: With Clinton, a new generation is taking over. From this it follows indirectly that the old power was not worth much, and it is good therefore that it has disappeared. The old war generation—the generation of the cold war, Korea, Vietnam—has nothing to be ashamed of. It has prepared a better world for the new generation, a better world than it itself experienced.

The new generation resulting from the postwar "population explosion" is a generation that is the most expensive, has received the best education while exerting as little effort as possible, while drawing—en masse—on state credits, which are uncollectable today—en masse. On television we saw a doctor who had an acknowledged income of $200,000, but was seriously saying that he was unable to repay the $20,000 he had borrowed, interest free, from taxpayers in 1963 to become a doctor. Of all the previous generations, this generation received the best medical care and greatest opportunities—opportunities of all kinds to assert themselves. This generation has also travelled more widely than any other previous generation and is worldy-wise. It has the best access to information, yet it does not always try to seek it.

This generation is also the naughtiest. Because of it drugs are so popular, and it has shaken all possible pillars of American morale, including marriage. Ronald Reagan cared that he had been divorced, and he remarried. If he was unable to cope with one marriage, how would he be able to run a country? In Clinton's case, marijuana, a girl friend, and also avoiding Vietnam, were all forgiven. The new generation does not consider these moral flaws, or disqualifying factors. I believe that, to its own detriment, this generation has the same attitude toward the slogan "Let the rich pay the taxes"—a slogan the older generation of Czechoslovaks remembers having heard from somewhat different people. Experience, however, cannot be transmitted.

In Congress, Clinton's party has a majority, and of the total of 50 states of the union, only 13 are not Democrats. There will be difficulties when seeking the consent of the majority that the almost 68 percent will cause them [sentence and percentage as published]. Despite the fact that Churchill, as well as Thatcher, said that seeking consensus obstructs instantaneous and constructive work, I suspect, however, they knew how to administer the country and they did their job better than just acceptably.

There will, so it seems, be problems with the controversial scale of election promises, promises that are mutually contradictory. If we want to be richer, we must either earn more money or spend less. Translated to Clinton's case, it will be difficult to reduce taxes (which only the rich will pay in the future) while at the same time, reducing the budget deficit. Of course, the deficit is the heritage of the Republicans, but they inherited it from the Democrats.

Reducing taxes and extending and reforming the program of public sector participation, this is a new euphemism for old financial support: Support not only for the weak, sick, poor, and those who are unable to provide for themselves, but also for those who don't want to work. That is what really should be reformed, and the employment rate increased. No one as yet has dared to estimate how many of these jobs will be productive. The employment rate can even be improved by setting up an office to deal with the search for rich people.

Efforts will be made to focus on domestic problems (for example, today's almost unrestricted, and therefore unlimited war between young gangs of drug users in some parts of American cities) and to maintain the strength of armed forces—the armed forces should not escape reform, either. The war against drugs must not be conducted by applying police violence, however. The education system, too, will be reformed, and then, health care and care of the elderly—something should really happen here. The influx of all kinds of immigrants will also be controlled. After the election promise that immigration from Haiti would be easier, we have here a situation that is similar to the one when Czech peasants interpreted the promises by Joseph II in their own way. In Haiti, 200,000 people have made their boats and floating vessels of all kinds, and are waiting for better weather over the Atlantic to sail to the promised land after the new president assumes office.

Donations worth $33,000,000—the sum calculated so far—were collected for the inauguration. This one was the largest in United States' history. Merrill Lynch gave the biggest donation—$230,000. Acceptance of the donation implies obligations.

Clinton has surrounded himself with a team of real experts. What is important is whether he will be able to listen to their opinion. The designated attorney general will have to appear before Congress to explain why she hired as personal servants people who came to the United States illegally (well, a fraction of the 6 to 8 million similar cases). The problem is, that despite all this, the United States remains the country in which more is allowed than prohibited, and it is also possible to become rich by work. The attorney general, as the

supreme caretaker of the legal system, must observe these laws herself. Hiring illegals is punishable by law.

Despite the fact that 58 percent of the electors did not vote for him, Clinton has become more popular and acceptable in the period between elections and inauguration—owing to the media. Well, here you have a young man who has made it, defying all obstacles. This makes an impression. However, the love of the crowd (not to mention that of the media) is a volatile thing—if there are difficulties. In contradistinction to the professional prophets of a better future, facts can change such love. The worst thing for the president would be to seek to fulfill all his election promises and become complacent for having done something no one else has ever done before. However, it would be equally pernicious for him not to try to fulfill them. This is quite a fine dilemma, I would say. He was born in the town of Hope, which means hope, and his office is symbolically associated—his staff never neglected to use symbolism—with that word, hope. Various hopes. A broken hope—we know that quite well, and we can still see it with our own eyes—usually has a boomerang effect, if the target is missed. It returns as a bad civic feeling to whoever launched it.

The latest act of the Justice Department has been to reprimand the FBI chief—for unauthorized use of FBI official vehicles, furnishing his office to expensively, and similar things, such as transport of two members of the Kirov Ballet in an FBI official car, for example. I believe that despite the fact that this was an act by the old and forgotten generation, many a European government could learn a lesson from this.

The new U.S. President intends to think and watch, for the time being.

He sent a message to Haiti that for the time being those 200,000 people should not go anywhere, that the objective of the new president and of the United States, too, is to restore democracy in Haiti, for which goal they will have his full support. When the Atlantic calms down, we shall see.

By the way, the designated attorney general has just resigned and the new President has removed her from his government list... crossed her out.

So, the United States remains the United States, and despite the fact that more is allowed here than prohibited, ministers must obey the laws of the land.

Bomb Scare Forces Adjournment of Parliament

LD2601171393 Prague CTK in English 1653 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 26 (CTK)—A bomb scare has forced the Czech parliament to adjourn for 30 minutes, while parliament buildings are searched. The bomb scare interrupted debate before the scheduled election of the Czech Republic's first president. A parliament staffer told CTK that an anonymous caller telephoned shortly before 1700, saying that an explosive device was hidden in the assembly where delegates were gathered.

Havel To Invite Slovakia's Meciar to Inauguration

LD2701160393 Prague CTK in English 1518 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 27 (CTK)—Newly elected Czech President Vaclav Havel will invite Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar to Prague for his swearing-in ceremony February 2, Havel told CTK today.

Meciar executes most of the powers of the as yet unelected Slovak president.

Havel said that he would like to talk with Meciar in Prague about such things as whether the new head of the Czech state will visit Slovakia or whether the Slovak president will come to the Czech Republic.

I definitely think that this should be the new presidents' first international contact, said Havel, who on Tuesday [26 January] termed relations with Slovakia a definite priority of the Czech Republic.

Havel Supports Intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD2701181893 Prague CTK in English 1656 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 27 (CTK)—Vaclav Havel, the Czech Republic's newly elected president, believes that the Czech Republic should support the idea of international military intervention in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

In an exclusive interview with CTK, the first after his election, Havel, however, said that the principal stand on the matter will depend on his talks with Czech Foreign Ministry officials. He said the Czech Republic should soon declare a clear and unambiguous position on the issue.

Havel said in his opinion the Czech foreign policy should be based on the principle of shared responsibility for world developments, especially in Europe. It will be of great benefit to us if we make it clear that we are not indifferent to what is going on around us, he said.

Havel said he expects to agree with the government on Czech foreign policy, though he holds a different view on some points from the government coalition.

He went on to say he thinks the term "Czech interests" appears too frequently in the Czech foreign policy strategy as approved by the government. He thinks that the term is unclear and its overly-frequent use creates the impression that the major and only goal of our foreign policy is solely to pursue our own interests.

Havel agrees with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus in that the Visegrad regional grouping member states should not be in any way bound or limited by cooperation within

the grouping. The essence of this cooperation is to give Europe a signal that we are capable of maintaining good relations with our neighbours in the troubled Central European region, he said.

He said he considers a metaphor, though not completely unfounded, Klaus' view that the Visegrad Troika was created artificially by the West.

The West is strongly emphasising that it sees as important the extent to which Central European countries are capable of cooperating with each other. If we manage to unite in different international institutions, our joint voice will be of much more value than our individual voices put together—it will be perceived as a certain guarantee of the stability in the whole Central European region, Havel said.

Parliament Chairman Implicated in Scandal

AU2801081993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by "tk, CTK": "Another Name Surfaces in the Macek Affair: Uhde"]

[Excerpts] Prague— While he was still minister of culture, Milan Uhde, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, came out in favor of selling the Knizni Velkoobchod [Book Wholesalers] state enterprise to the Telegraf Company, Miroslav Burdats, former deputy director of Knizni Velkoobchod in charge of economic affairs, told CTK. Milan Uhde has confirmed that he had supported the project of the Telegraf Company for the privatization of Knizni Velkoobchod.

Milan Uhde's wife Jitka is the partner of Jan Kanzelsberger, director of the J.R. Vilimek Company, which has acquired a part of the privatized enterprise Knizni Velkoobchod. Uhde's wife and Kanzelsberger are co-owners of the Ceska Kniha [Czech Book] distribution company. According to Miroslav Burdats, Ceska Kniha gets its books from the J.R. Vilimek company free of charge. "It is the repayment of some kind of a debt owed to the Uhde family," Burdats said.

While he was minister of culture, Milan Uhde repeatedly declared, according to Burdats, that he knew of a company that would be capable of taking over the Knizni Velkoobchod state enterprise and launching its full-scale operation within 15 days. "It was clear to everyone who would get Knizni Velkoobchod," Burdats stated.

Milan Uhde has denied that he had a personal interest in the victory of the privatization project submitted by [Telegraf Company founders] Jindrich Menzel and Miroslav Macek. He supported their project because he was confident that the debts of the Knizni Velkoobchod state enterprise would be quickly settled. Milan Uhde has also rejected the claim that his wife was using the services of the J.R. Vilimek company free of charge. Jindrich Menzel, co-owner of the J.R. Vilimek Company, also denies any link between the Uhde family and the privatization project for the Knizni Velkoobchod state enterprise.

Speaking at a Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] briefing on Thursday [21 January], Jiri Skalicky, minister for the administration of national property and its privatization, said that, owing to the updating of the privatization project for Knizni Velkoobchod, Miroslav Macek and Jindrich Macek, the owners of the Telegraf Prague Company, were relieved of certain obligations that they had originally been ready to assume.

According to our information, the original recommendation of the privatization project for Knizni Velkoobchod by the Ministry of Culture was tied to certain conditions. In this regard one is looking, above all, at the new owners' obligations not to change the subject of the entrepreneurial activity and not to sell buildings owned by Knizni Velkoobchod. [passage omitted]

The information has now appeared in public that the owners of the J.R. Vilimek company intend to sell one of the buildings of the former Knizni Velkoobchod to Komercni Banka [Commercial Bank]. "The general director of Komercni Banka asked me recently whether he could buy the building in question," Jiri Skalicky said.

Number of Aliens, Conditions for Citizenship Given

AU2701200593 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by "(hop)": "There Are Some 100,000 Illegal Aliens in Our Country"]

[Text] Prague—Almost 75 million foreigners crossed the Czechoslovak borders last year. There are some 500,000 coming to our country everyday. All foreign nationals may stay in the Czech Republic a maximum of 180 days. If they extend their stay deliberately, they become one of the 100,000 (according to a rough estimate) aliens living in our country illegally. There are some 75,000 aliens (including families, foreign students, and 15,000 Vietnamese, Polish, and Bulgarian workers who are working here on the basis of treaties of former socialist Czechoslovakia) who live legally here.

In the Czech Republic, there are 790 people who have refugee status. Slightly more than 3,000 people have applied for this status. The Czech Republic grants refugee status for five years, if they are afraid of prosecution because of race, religion, or nationality, or because of political reasons. After five years, the refugee may apply for permanent residence, and after an additional five years of residence in the Czech Republic, for Czech citizenship. In exceptional cases—prosecuted individuals—the government grants asylum, the validity of which is unlimited. The last group of aliens in the Czech Republic are 2,100 refugees from former Yugoslavia, to

whom the government granted so-called temporary asylum until the end of June.

Foreign nationals who have never been CSFR citizens, if they meet criteria given by the Law No. 40 of 1992, can be granted Czech citizenship. The applicant must have resided for at least five years on the Czech Republic's territory and must not have been sentenced for an intentional criminal offense and must prove his knowledge of the Czech language. The Ministry of Education is expected to set requirements for the language exam. According to information provided by the Civilian and Administrative Section of the Interior Ministry, this has not yet happened.

Rules for Commercial Banks' Deposits Tightened

AU2701214993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Jan 93 pp 1, 14

[Report by "vm": "One Step Closer to Currency Separation"]

[Excerpts] Smolenice— The monetary development in the Czech Republic increasingly differs from the development in Slovakia, which is one of the signals for an early separation of the currencies. This transpired from yesterday's news conference held in the course of the second meeting of the Monetary Committee. The meeting was held at Smolenice Castle near Trnava. The split may occur anytime after 31 January. [passage omitted]

Slovak National Bank Vice Governor Marian Jusko named three main causes speaking in favor of separation: First, there is shortage of credit resources (deposits) in Slovakia and their surplus in the Czech Republic. Second, there is the expectation of currency separation and a subsequent devaluation of the Slovak currency, which makes some Slovak enterprises and businessmen transfer money to the Czech Republic and further increases the imbalance in the volume of deposits. Third, there is the wait-and-see attitude of foreign countries, which do not trust in the duration of the common currency. They demand immediate payment for trade transactions and are hesitant to invest any capital or to extend any credits until the situation clears up. [passage omitted]

The Czech National Bank at the same time announced that, within the framework of alleviating inflationary pressures, effective as of 1 February it will increase the mandatory reserves of banks operating in the Czech Republic from 9-12 percent for nonterm deposits and from 3-4 percent for term deposits. These are reserves that commercial banks deposit with the central bank free of interest and on which they cannot draw when extending credits. [passage omitted]

Slovak participants in the news conference also spoke about the exchange rate of the independent Slovak currency. While Slovak National Bank Vice Governor Marian Jusko said that "personally, I expect devaluation," Minister of Finance Julius Toth declared that an equalized trade balance "can be ensured also by other means."

Baudys Analyzes State of Army, Ministry

AU2801090593 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No. 4 (25 to 31 Jan 93) p 9

[Interview with Defense Minister Antonin Baudys by Jaroslav Spurny and Emil Szirmai; place and date not given: "Inflation of Colonels"]

[Text] [RESPEKT] The independent Czech Army is being founded three years after November [1989 when the communist regime collapsed]. The main auditorium of the Ministry of Defense is still decorated with five-pointed stars.

[Baudys] I understand, of course, at what you are hinting. It is easy to remove stars. What I consider to be much more difficult is to create a modern army of the West European type. I do not intend to comment on the headway made by the last federal defense ministers in this direction. It is impossible to avoid changes of principle in tackling this problem. They will encompass everything, from the Army's internal structure, to the length of basic military service, down to the "changing of the guard" in the field of personnel. We must speed up these changes as much as we can without at the same time jeopardizing the country's ability to defend itself.

Unfortunately, the past cannot be abolished by means of an order. The communist Army was a peculiar "state within the state." The budget was almost the only link between its economy and the civilian sector; otherwise it availed itself of its "own" industry, system of supplies, or civilian components. This system is self-perpetuating by nature and right now we are drafting a project on transforming it within the shortest possible period of time. It will not be easy, however, compared with the solution of the personnel situation. I am afraid that we shall be grappling with this problem for the lifespan of a whole military generation.

Civilian Ministry

[RESPEKT] The Army's present structure was built according to the Soviet concept. What will have to be changed first of all, in your opinion?

[Baudys] First and foremost, it will be necessary to newly arrange relations between the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff, which will finally have to deal with the things it would deal with in a normal country, that is, command, rather than with, say, equipment allocation and supply, management of production enterprises, or the development of foreign contacts, as has been the case thus far. This kind of service will henceforth be provided by the ministry. But the crux of the matter lies elsewhere: No one but the Ministry of Defense as the highest body of state administration can adopt fundamental political

or strategic decisions. Any other division of power is unthinkable in a democratic society.

Key positions at this office must be taken by civilians, something that has immensely surprised some high-ranking officers. Filling important positions in the state administration with career soldiers represents an anomaly that only a totalitarian regime is capable of producing. Of course, there is one "advantage" to having soldiers as civil servants at the ministry: they are used to carrying out orders.

[RESPEKT] All three post-November ministers of defense eschewed the term professionalization of the Army, claiming that there was no money for that. Are you an advocate of professionalization?

[Baudys] Of course, and even of complete professionalization.z It requires, however, a whole series of gradual steps. It is still something that we can only hope to attain in the relatively distant future. Even now we are ready to introduce basic national service of a mere 12 months; this will happen immediately upon the passage of the requisite legislation by parliament. However, at the same time it is necessary to raise the quality of training, which primarily means abolishing all activities that have nothing to do with it. The Army will simply devote itself solely to training and to enhancing the defense capability of the state and production and commercial activities will be transferred to the entrepreneurial sphere. This will also find its expression in the citizens' attitude toward the Army—the presence of the Army will mean the creation of countless job opportunities.

[RESPEKT] Do we have thousands of real professionals?

[Baudys] Hardly, if we use Western criteria. The problem definitely does not lie in the fact that 88 percent of career soldiers were members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It would be absolute nonsense if we indiscriminately expelled them from the new Czech Army. The same is true of graduates of Soviet schools; it is an unhealthy phenomenon, however, that the overwhelming majority of higher-ranking officers have gone through them. The art of personnel management lies in an individual approach to people. Therefore, we are not planning any sweeping purges. I make no secret of the fact that some necessary changes have been carried out already and others are being prepared: With one exception, all chiefs of military administrations of the General Staff will be recalled from their posts, including the chiefs of intelligence and military police. Other positions will be abolished completely.

No one knows, however, what to do with the political officers of the former Czechoslovak People's Army, 3,500 of whom were working in the Army in 1989. Over 600 of them are working in the Army at present, naturally with different assignments. If their only qualification is a political one, they will have to leave.

Nor is it good that almost 30 percent of all officers today are colonels and lieutenant colonels. The discovery that they frequently perform expressly secretarial jobs has filled me with outright horror. Under the previous regime the dictum applied: "Let us get rid of him by giving him a promotion." To my chagrin I therefore encounter some of the people who have been "eliminated" in this way at the ministry. Together with First Deputy Minister Jiri Pospisil we are preparing such a concept of personnel policy as would allow people who are competent and unencumbered by past approaches to get ahead. Without such people we will not push through any military doctrine, no matter how perfect.

Division and Geography

[RESPEKT] Quite a number of doubts about the combat capability of our Army have been expressed lately. Was there absolute chaos while the Army was being divided?

[Baudys] Although it may sound incredible, we have already achieved the Czechoslovak Army's division in substantive matters. Of course, it will take a few months for us to take over all the materiel. The Czech Army's combat capability certainly has not declined compared with last year, also in view of the geographical location of the Czech Republic. The greater part of the former Federal Army was situated on our territory. The Western District represented the most important military grouping—be it in terms of air defense or intelligence systems or in terms of combat or reconnaissance aircraft. In other words, only the troop and equipment numbers have been reduced without any disruption to the vital "centers" of Army life. The deployment of units has changed considerably, however, as we are reinforcing the defense capability of Moravia. This has naturally caused complications—for example, in West Bohemia there is a surplus of apartments for career soldiers while in South Moravia we are short of them. We also have to close down some airfields. By comparison, Slovakia had to build some things almost from scratch.

[RESPEKT] How much does your department cost the taxpayer?

[Baudys] The Army's budget conforms with the resources of the Czech Republic; for this year it represents almost 23 billion korunas. It guarantees the routine operation of the Army but not the replacement of obsolete equipment. Moreover, the crucial part of this equipment comes from the states of the former Warsaw Pact, which causes all kinds of problems, for instance with spare parts. The Army's modernization costs enormous sums of money and the military budget will therefore have to be increased in the future.

[RESPEKT] Is the Army not inflating its needs?

[Baudys] This is something all budget-funded departments are trying to do, also education or health care. The requirements must be assessed by the Government and, in the final analysis, by parliament. One tends to forget

that in advanced countries Army research and development represents absolutely the highest standard technologically and that its results are immediately projected into the public sector.

I am aware of the fact that the growth and, in general, legitimacy of military expenditures are always the subject of sharp polemics, also in the West. The budget comes about as the point of intersection of various influences, including influences exerted by other departments or all kinds of groups. Not only the notorious military-industrial lobby is at work here but also, for example, the oil industry or farming lobby. This whole bargaining is corrected by parliament, which, however, is itself subject to the pressure of economic interests.

[RESPEKT] Does the Army intend to engage in entrepreneurial activity?

[Baudys] I do not understand why it should. I believe that it has an abundance of its own specific tasks. The Army is now primarily "slimming down." It is getting rid of what it does not need—surplus armament and other equipment, production enterprises, plots, and buildings. It must, of course, dispose of its property in a transparent and commercially clean way. I will use all my might to resist the dirty practices of some "exclusive" dealers in military property.

End of Gray Neutrality

[RESPEKT] Are you not afraid that our new Army is "crawling" with KGB or GRU [communist-era Soviet military intelligence] agents?

[Baudys] You well know what problems there were, and still are, with the exposure of StB [communist-era secret police] collaborators, in defiance of the existence of all sorts of registers of files and dossiers. I have never seen the register of KGB agents' files and will probably never get to see it. I consider the idea that the Russian side might make it available to us to be naive. There is evidence that a certain component of the Czechoslovak People's Party was the branch office of the GRU. Naturally, we can only deduce which people and office holders could or had to be Soviet agents. In some cases we will also act according to this, even if on the basis of mere suspicion. Tangible proof of guilt is one thing and the security of the state another. No officer has a patent to deal with secret information for life.

Within the framework of the former Warsaw Pact, the KGB and the GRU represented omnipotent centers. I would not like to discuss their influence today, or the influence of the networks of their agents.

[RESPEKT] What do you think about the position of the Czech Army in the changed geopolitical conditions?

[Baudys] The so-called bipolar world has hopefully disappeared. The importance of neutral states has consequently ended. In my opinion, only where black and white existed was there also room for gray. The security situation in Europe is taking on new dimensions: Most of the continent is heading toward democracy and market economy. From political and economic similarities military closeness also transpires. I have no doubts that we, too, will pick up this trend.

One big question mark is, however, hanging over this optimistic scenario—the development in the successor states of the former Soviet Union. Unlike the conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia or in the Middle East, this development could bring about a global confrontation.

[RESPEKT] Nonetheless, NATO is not waiting with open arms to receive us.

[Baudys] Understandably so. Many Western politicians view the Czech Army's entry into NATO with considerable reservations, but they do so through the optics of today. If we become a state with a prosperous economy, an unambiguously solid democracy, and a functional Army, nothing will stand in the way of the Czech Republic's admission into this organization. Moreover, West Europe is having problems with its own integration.

The Army of the Czech Republic has an enormous opportunity—to join Europe by changing people's mode of thinking and their way of doing things. We will have to change track to accomplish this, however.

[The RESPEKT interview features a photograph of Minister Baudys, the caption of which states: "Antonin Baudys (born in 1946) is the author of several dozen inventions in the field of applied optics. He was deputy prime minister in Pithart's and Strasky's governments and has become the first minister of defense of the Czech Republic. His political strength—and, simultaneously, the limits to it—lies in his membership of the Christian Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party. Within the leadership of his party, he is a representative of the expressly right-wing current. In 1990 he received the Commander's Cross of Merit of the Order of Maltese Knights. He tries to act inconspicuously in public but most of the time he achieves his aims. His hobbies are music and playing the piano. In the army he reached the rank of sergeant."]

Meciar Calls for More Professionalism in Parliament

LD2701213993 Prague CTK in English 1932 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)—The Slovak Government today rejected a draft amendment to the law on ending the Czechoslovak Federation in which legislators propose to terminate the mandates of the deputies to the now-defunct federal parliament, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told journalists today.

The law ending Czechoslovakia was passed by the federal parliament on November 25, 1992.

Meciar said that the amendment deletes the article of the law which speaks about the transfer of federal deputies to the Slovak and Czech parliaments. This is tantamount to the termination of their mandate, he added.

Meciar said that the former federal legislators could form a reserve to add new deputies to the Slovak parliament, if necessary. He called for greater professionalisation of the parliament and said: Deputies should not be involved in any other activity aimed at making money. Meciar pointed out that the existence of the reserve deputies would help accelerate the parliament's professionalisation.

'Armed Conflict' With Hungary Ruled Out

LD2801093593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the Slovak Parliament, has ruled out absolutely any possibility of a bloody armed conflict flaring up between Slovakia and Hungary. In an interview with today's issue of UJ MAGYARORSZAG, Ivan Gasparovic says that an armed conflict would close to both countries the possibility of communicating with Europe in a friendly manner. According to the chairman of the Slovak parliament, a mutually advantageous policy has to be developed between Slovakia and Hungary.

At present, however, this will depend on the success of politicians in resolving existing problems in mutual relations, Ivan Gasparovic added in UJ MAGYARORSZAG.

Second Ballot Fails To Select Next President

LD2701141993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Report on the results of the second ballot for the president of the Slovak Republic; read by Election Commission chief Milan Secansky—live or recorded]

[Text] In the second ballot for the election of the president of the Slovak Republic, which was held by secret ballot on 27 Janaury 1993, deputies of National Council of the Slovak Republic were given 147 ballot forms. Having counted the votes, the Election Commission, which has organized and supervised the election for president of the the Slovak Republic, has found out that in the secret polling 109 valid ballots and seven invalid ballots were deposited in the ballot box. Thirty deputies abstained. The commission states that:

1. There were 31 valid ballots cast for Milan Ftacnik, candidate for president of the Slovak Republic;

2. There were 78 valid ballots cast for Roman Kovac, candidate for president of the Slovak Republic.

According to Article 101, Section 3 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, a three-fifths majority of all deputies of the National Council of the Slovak Republic is needed to elect the president of the Slovak Republic. The Election Commission therefore states that neither of the candidates for president won the necessary three-fifths majority of all deputies.

The Election Commission, according to Article 12 of the 12th Election Rules, has authorized its chairman to announce the results of the presidential election at the 13th session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. It asks at the same time for the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic to declare that neither of the two candidates was elected president of the Slovak Republic.

Signed by Milan Secansky, Robert Fico, Ladislav Pittner, Peter Sokol, Erno Rozsa, and Janos Fothy, members of the Election Commission.

HZDS Blamed for Failure

LD2701161993 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)—Opposition parties blame the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) of Premier Vladimir Meciar for the parliament's failure to elect Slovakia's president in the first double-round voting on Tuesday [26 January] and Wednesday.

Journalists learnt this gradually today from representatives of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), the Slovak National Party (SNS), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH).

They think that the HZDS should have held talks to find a generally acceptable figure. Instead, it had tried to push through its own candidate, the parties said.

Four candidates ran in the presidential election, one each from the HZDS, the SDL, the SNS, and the KDH.

The parties' representatives said they would meet together with the Egyutteles Movement to find a candidate acceptable to all parties.

The HZDS ran Deputy Premier Roman Kovac.

Kovac's Past Seen as Presidential Disqualification

AU2701203393 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Jan 93 p 3

[Commentary by Igor Cibula: "Lack of Political Foresight; The Public Expects Presidential Candidates To Be Irreproachable"]

[Text] Roman Kovac's uncertain chances of being elected the first democratic president of the Slovak Republic have in the last few days been called into question by some circumstances that call into serious question his civic irreproachability in the eyes of the public from the viewpoint of the moral requirements that a presidential candidate should meet. Almost at the eleventh hour, thanks mainly to the opposition press, the information has surfaced that the deputy prime minister had applied for Communist Party membership in 1989. His attempt to belittle this fact by claiming that he had only been a candidate for Communist Party of Slovakia membership does not speak in his favor. What matters is that he wanted to join the Communist Party at a time when the totalitarian regime started to collapse throughout East Europe, which had been "infected" by Gorbachev's "perestroyka." Developments in neighboring countries, particularly in Hungary and the GDR, were a signal for every judicious person that it was only a question of a short time until the communist system would also collapse in Czechoslovakia.

The fact that Roman Kovac displayed such a lack of political foresight certainly does not speak in his favor in the eyes of the National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies who will decide on Slovakia's president. Deputies for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in particular will not find it easy to decide on the Slovak president, as it is not so much the Communist Party membership of their presidential candidate that matters as the fact that Roman Kovac has been "bashfully" silent about some circumstances of his pre-November 1989 career. This is a serious defect that is not tolerated in established democratic regimes. Even independent Slovakia cannot afford the luxury of a politician assuming the post of the first constitutional official of the state who is burdened by a problematic past.

Representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left and the Slovak National Party, who may be tempted to strike a political deal for supporting Roman Kovac, cannot close their eyes to the aforesaid objections to the HZDS presidential candidate. If they gave preference to their short-term pragmatic interests and accepted the offered counterservices in exchange for their votes in favor of the present official candidate of the HZDS, they would expose themselves to the potential risk of carrying the common burden of government, but with an uncertain influence in the future. [sentence as published] It would possibly be more useful for them if they exercised their potential only in the second round of the presidential elections, in which, under certain circumstances, the chance for a broader consensus among the parliamentary parties could arise.

In the present state of uncertainty about the winner of the presidential elections, one should not forget that if Slovakia wants to successfully overcome the objective problems associated with the upcoming period of radical changes, it needs a personality in the presidential post capable of ensuring by his authority productive communication between the government and the opposition. The potential president should also command authority among citizens who hold in greater esteem open-hearted politicians such as Alexander Dubcek, even with a communist past, than rational turncoats who managed to throw away their party membership card at the right moment.

Knazko Criticizes Kovac

AU2701204893 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Jan 93 p 2

[CTK report: "No Agreement on Criteria Reached"]

[Text] In an interview for Slovak Radio yesterday, prior to today's Slovak presidential elections, Slovak Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Knazko (Movement For a Democratic Slovakia) said that he considered it a grave mistake that no agreement was reached among political parties on the criteria that the president of the Slovak Republic should meet. He stressed the need for the impartiality of the candidate, who should be accepted by political forces on the basis of broader social consensus.

Milan Knazko is convinced that it would be possible to find people meeting such criteria. "In this way, we would send a positive signal to the world in the sense that no one-party power is being built here," he said. "When I read in the newspaper that, apart from the other candidates, our candidate had also been a member—or, in his case, candidate member—of the Communist Party, I asked myself whether this was not a bit too much. I am not against former communists, but what if we found in our movement at least one man among those holding the most important posts in the state who had not been member of the former Communist Party of Slovakia," Milan Knazko said. Roman Kovac, the candidate of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia for the post of president of the Slovak Republic, was a Communist Party of Slovakia candidate member in 1989.

Meciar Confirms Nomination

LD2701195493 Prague CTK in English 1844 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today confirmed that Michal Kovac, former chairman of the now defunct Czechoslovak federal parliament, is the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia's (HZDS) presidential candidate for the second round of voting.

The HZDS leadership decided on January 16 that Michal Kovac will be its candidate for a second round of presidential ballot and I see no reason to change the decision, Meciar told CTK.

Yesterday the Slovak parliament failed to elect a president in the first voting of the first round. No president was elected in the second voting of the first round today either.

Meciar rejected the idea that the HZDS has nominated Roman Kovac for the first round intentionally, knowing that he would not be elected and it would thus be able to push forward its second candidate—Michal Kovac. Meciar said Roman Kovac has the best contacts abroad.

However, he did not rule out the possibility for all Slovak Government coalition parties to agree on a joint presidential candidate. But to achieve this two parties—the Democratic Left Party (SDL) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) would have to stop playing political poker, Meciar said.

Meanwhile, Ivan Laluha, chairman of the HZDS parliamentary group, told journalists that he is optimistic and thinks that the HZDS candidate will be president.

Meciar said the failure to elect a president was slowing down the finalisation of state administration. We also want to have several political discussions abroad. If a president cannot hold them, I will, Meciar said.

Knazko Accused of Breaking Party Discipline

LD2701213493 Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)—Slovak Premier and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Chairman Vladimir Meciar accused Deputy Premier and HZDS Deputy Chairman Milan Knazko of breaking party discipline today.

Meciar admitted that the HZDS is not unified, and that the political fight against the party continues and grows even within the movement.

Eight months ago, former HZDS campaign manager Jan Bajanek spoke about the dissension between the two politicians, which could lead to the rupture of the party. Bajanek resigned from his post as campaign manager seven weeks before the elections last June because he disagreed with the ideological approach of the political leadership in preparing for the elections.

At that time, Bajanek said that differing currents of opinion on how to organise constitutional law were emerging in the HZDS. After the June elections, the difference of opinion between Meciar and Knazko, which had been purposely muted during the campaign, deepened and Bajanek said that it would not surprise him if the movement divided into two or even three parts.

In May 1992, Bajanek did not discount the possible cooperation of Meciar, who was expected to win the Slovak elections, with Vaclav Klaus' Civic Democratic Party (ODS), even if he had to compromise his election programme. But I don't know whether Knazko is capable of such a move, he said at the time.

The difference of opinion in the HZDS, according to Bajanek, can complicate the arrangement of the Slovak Government. Together with the negative social effects of economic reform, even Meciar's popularity could wane and a constitutional crisis could ensue, he said.

Meciar admitted that his and Knazko's views are not always in agreement. When asked about the opposition within the HZDS allegedly headed by Knazko in an interview with Slovak Radio on November 20, Meciar said that he considers it neither strong opposition nor a schism within the movement. Mr. Knazko has his own opinion on several matters, but no one is behind him, he said.

In an interview with Slovak Radio on November 25, Knazko said that he considers it a great mistake that political parties have not come to an agreement on the criteria which should be fulfilled by the Slovak president.

He stressed the need for a nonpartisan candidate who would be accepted by the political powers according to broad common agreement, and objected to the fact that even the HZDS candidate has a communist past. When I read in the paper that even our candidate, among others, was a member—in this case a candidate for membership—in the communist party, I asked myself whether this was not a little too much. I am not against former communists, but what if we could find at least one person who fills the most important functions in the state who was not a member of the former Slovak Communist Party, he said.

HZDS presidential candidate Roman Kovac was a candidate for membership in the Slovak Communist Party in 1989.

Estonia's Laar, Antall Discuss Business Ties

LD2701161393 Budapest MTI in English 1522 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar, who arrived here on Tuesday [26 January] for a three-day official visit at counterpart Jozsef Antall's invitation, held talks today with leading officials from the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP), one of the three government coalition parties. The talks were led by Laar and CDPP President Laszlo Surjan.

Laar, who is also president of the Christian Democratic grouping which won elections in Estonia, proposed that Estonian politicians give lectures at Budapest's European Christian Democratic Academy run by the CDPP.

The Estonian prime minister told reporters that his talks with Antall focused on improving business links between the two countries. They agreed to set up an Estonian-Hungarian joint committee to survey major areas of economic cooperation.

Joint Economic Committee Discussed

LD2701195793 Budapest MTI in English 1909 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 28 (MTI)—Cooperation projects were discussed at talks between Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Estonian counterpart Mart Laar on Wednesday [27 January].

At a press briefing after the talks, the two politicians reported that they had agreed to set up a joint economic committee to explore cooperation possibilities.

Antall assured Laar Hungary was ready to help Estonia restructure its economy. He saw a need to develop bilateral trade, at present totaling a mere USD [U.S. dollars] 1-2 million, and called for stepping up banking ties and scientific and technical cooperation in the near future. Also, he said, Hungary was ready to share its experience in privatization with Estonia.

Laar said they had discussed military cooperation as well. Tallinn does not plan to buy arms from Hungary but welcomes Budapest to share experience on several issues, including the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The politicians agreed that a Hungarian Interior Ministry delegation will soon visit Estonia.

The prime ministers touched upon the possibility of holding an Estonian-Finnish-Hungarian summit. Although the date and venue of the summit have yet to be set, Antall said, Budapest would support Tallinn in endeavours to host the event.

In their discussion, Antall and Laar spoke extensively about the reviving awareness of identity in Finno-Ugric nations. It is a moral obligation of Estonia, Finland and Hungary to protect Finno-Ugric peoples and to make Europe recognize their reputation, Antall said. Attention has to be called to the fact that the Finno-Ugric ethnic group belongs to Europe's ancient peoples, the disappearance of any of the Finno-Ugric nations from the map of Europe must be prevented, he said.

As an example of especially cruel fate, Laar cited the 25,000-strong Chanti people, a Finno-Ugric ethnic group in Siberia, whose history he compared to that of native American Indians. The small group is being driven from its territories by Russian oil monopolies, and faces extinction.

According to Laar, the Chanti people will be ready to take up arms if oil drilling is extended to their sacred territories, where they believe their gods live.

At the press briefing, a correspondent of the ITAR-TASS Russian News Agency asked whether the prime ministers had discussed the Hungarian-Russian minority protection agreement, and whether Tallinn has territorial claims towards the St. Petersburg and Pskov regions.

Antall said he spoke to Laar about the Hungarian-Russian minority agreement and briefed him on Hungary's minority bill. Legislation on minorities is under preparation in Estonia as well, Laar said. Tallinn shares Hungary's stand that minority legislation has to be based on the principle of historical minorities, who have lived in the country for a long time.

Laar said Estonia does not claim to have the town of Pskov. The problem of territories disannexed from Estonia without any treaty will have to be clarified through negotiations, he added.

During the day, Laar also met members of the national presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the largest party of Hungary's governing coalition.

Fur, Albania's Zhulali Discuss Balkan Issue

AU2701181293 Tirana ATA in English 1124 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 27 (ATA)—At the invitation of the minister of defence of Hungary, the Albanian Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali arrived in Hungary on January 26.

During his way to Hungary, the Albanian minister of defence had short working meetings of courtesy with the ministers of defence of Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Romania. They discussed on the questions of bilateral cooperation and the situation in the Balkans. The talks were conducted in a spirit of understanding.

Mr. Safet Zhulali met on January 26 with his Hungarian homologue Dr. Lajos [Fur] at the Ministry of Defence. After that, the ceremony of placing the wreaths at the monument of the heroes of the Hungarian nation was organized.

On the same day, talks between the two delegations led by the respective ministers were conducted. Three were

the questions where they concentrated upon: democratic reformation of the armies of our two countries, the actual situation of the Balkan Region and broader, and the fields of multilateral cooperation. The talks were open and there was complete understanding on all the matters.

International Guarantees Sought

LD2801114593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Albania would like to receive international security guarantees to prevent the spread of the south Slav war to the country. The Albanian defense minister who is staying in this country has said that despite poverty and backward military technology they will stand up to any kind of agression. Safet Zhulali gave a statement to TV2 and to a staff member of UJ MAGYARORSZAG.

Serbian Tanks Blockade Border Checkpoint

AU2701172693 Paris AFP in English 1642 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, Jan 27 (AFP)—Serbian tanks blockaded the out-of-use Udvari checkpoint on the border between Hungary and the rump Yugoslavia, spokesman of the Hungarian Border Guard Attila Krisan said here Wednesday [27 January].

The blockade started Tuesday afternoon, when first Yugoslav soldiers on an armoured vehicle arrived at the Serbian side, then tanks blocked all the roads toward Hungary including a dirt road at a distance of 150 metres (yards) from the frontier line, Krisan said.

The Hungarian border guard could not explain the reason for the blockade, as the Udvari station, opposite Dobosevica in Yugoslavia, was closed from traffic more than a year ago because of the fighting in the former Yugoslavia, he said.

Foreign Affairs Committee Elects New Head

LD2701181393 Budapest MTI in English 1702 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament Foreign Affairs Committee elected Socialist MP [member of parliament] Laszlo Kovacs as chairman on Wednesday [27 January]. Kovacs is to replace Gyula Horn, who has recently resigned. Horn is also chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP).

Kovacs had been nominated for the post by the HSP, under a six-party agreement on the distribution of parliamentary posts. After the election, Kovacs said he considered the post an honor, and, at the same time, a challenge, as he has to replace Horn, one of Europe's most renowned politicians.

He said he will seek to head the committee so that it can fulfill its basic tasks, first of all maintaining a consensus vital in foreign policies. Also, in his view, the committee has to take part in working out the guidelines of Hungary's foreign policy, and in developing the country's international ties.

Editorial Comments on Horn's Resignation

AU2801105293 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jan 93 p 3

[Editorial by Tibor Kiss: "Reflex Movement"]

[Text] It is not difficult to figure out why Gyula Horn has become a thorn in the flesh of the government parties and why they had to remove him from his position as head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian parliament.

Gyula Horn had to resign today for the same reason [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall asked him to fill this position at the time. The reason for his unsuitability: his professional knowledge, his diplomatic proficiency, and mainly his international reputation. Because one can like or reject Horn as a party politician, but no one can question the fact that the world regards him as the best Hungarian foreign policy expert today. Moreover, he has become a one-person institution in his own right in recent years, as the person who dismantled the iron curtain and as a winner of the Karl's Prize, a person whose words are considered in European capitals. All this can indeed be rather uncomfortable for the government today.

Compared to this, the often uncomfortably sharp contrast between Horn's calm professionalism and the empty bragging of some government party deputies in the Foreign Affairs Committee was indeed only a small annoyance. The committee might appoint a good successor, but hardly a more eminent one.

Besides, how could this government allow the frequent "flashing" of the expertise of an opposition politician both at home and abroad, a government that, according to public opinion, is struggling with a chronic deficit of professionals? Especially now, when the time for new elections is approaching rapidly and election fever has suddenly broken out in the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Just as one tries to conceal one's fear in a dark forest by singing loudly, the favorite pastime today is to try to fill the enemy's court with the pitifully-funny midget Lucifer and political Mickey Mouse characters, probably in order to make it seem less fearful.

In the final analysis, Horn's removal is naturally an election event. This is what the story is mainly about, and also about the fact that there is definitely no need for Horn to appear abroad too frequently. All the arguments the coalition has made public about this affair are nothing but nonsense and invented and insipid pretexts.

Therefore, in Horn's place, I would even be proud of my removal. I would understand from this that my political opponents regard me and my party highly and they think of me as a rival. However, Horn looked rather moved

and sad in parliament on Monday [25 January]. He must have felt some pain about the way they are treating him. Yet things like this happen in politics. However, despite the unfairness, Horn acted correctly; the same applies to the prime minister. The head of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] acted correctly in deciding to step down himself in order to maintain peace in parliament, and thus saving the firing of a lot of political cartridges and fog guns.

Of course, parliament has much more urgent and important issues than this. Compared with these issues, Horn's removal is a secondary issue because all that happened was that professional expertise was driven into the backyard; the MDF showed its muscles and made a reflex movement directed by its fear of losing power. In other words, everything that happened here has been taking place in Hungary every day. It is almost not worth mentioning....

All the more so because Horn is a guest lecturer at the World Economic Forum held in Davos this weekend, together with, among other people, the Czech and Polish prime ministers.

National Liberals Continue To Back Antall

AU2801110893 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, 26 January (MTI)—Although nothing like an open rebellion was in issue, Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] deputy and member of the party's national-liberal group, Istvan Elek, mentioned after meeting Prime Minister and MDF Chairman Jozsef Antall, along with 19 other liberal-minded forum deputies, that options would be kept open and Antall would regret any MDF deputies leaving the parliamentary party.

Antall does not share the view that the Hungarian Democratic Forum's national-liberals had suffered a defeat during the ruling party's sixth national convention, rejecting any such interpretation of events, national-liberal deputy Istvan Elek reported after the talks with Antall on Tuesday [26 January].

After the three-hour meeting between Antall, whom the convention had unanimously reelected as party chairman, and the 20 national-liberal forum deputies, Elek said Antall was much more optimistic about the period to come than the actual national-liberals, including Elek himself.

At the meeting, national-liberals were united in supporting Antall's centrist policies laid down in the political statement adopted at the convention.

"We consider it a matter of course that, from now on, the policy of unity will mean a very unambiguous dissociation from radical rightist policies," Elek said.

The consultation was attended by members of the Liberal Forum Foundation board, and politicians who held lectures at a series of national discussions organised by the foundation recently, including Parliament's Speaker Gyorgy Szabad, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, and Hungarian National Bank President Akos Peter Bod.

Answering a question by the press, Elek said they had not discussed whether the liberals within the MDF want to form a platform of their own. He added although the liberals might form a faction of their own to support the government during the period up to the 1994 general elections, they first want to watch developments over the next days and months.

HDF Leader Criticizes Press Distortions

LD2701165793 Budapest MTI in English 1637 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] and the government are trying in vain to make people understand the essence of the changes that have taken place in the country without the help of the press, said Imre Konya, head of the leading government coalition party, the HDF.

Konya was speaking at a press conference about this year's plan of the HDF parliamentary group.

If they see that journalists have honest intentions, they will help the press by "giving the maximum possible information," Konya said.

He criticized the press for frequently distorting the information received, thus engaging in direct politicking, which he said had aroused the suspicion of the parliamentary group and government circles. When they gave voice to their disapproval, it was met with suspicion by the press, he added.

"In this way, relations between mass media and the HDF are far from being cloudless," Konya said, and added:

"Like it or not, we are rowing the same boat. Assistance from the press is vital for involvement of the whole society in the ongoing processes. The HDF is determined to open itself to mass communication, and the sixth national convention delegates also decided so last weekend."

Referring to last weekend's party congress, Konya pointed out that the present HDF presidium includes politicians devoid of all kinds of extremities, and therefore requested the press to stop guessing in relation to the presidium's composition.

He stressed that the national convention had set the course of policy to be pursued by the HDF, and its call for unity is binding to all. The presidium's political practice would be aimed at a balanced, compromising policy free from any extremities, he added.

Lech Walesa Talks to Journalists

PM2701112393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 93 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by Irina Demchenko: "Lech Walesa: We Have Given People What Lenin Promised Them"]

[Text] At the end of last week Polish President Lech Walesa met in Warsaw with a small group of Russian and Belarusian journalists. During the talk, which instead of the allocated 40 minutes lasted nearly two hours, the president gave his opinion on a number of problems.

On the Moral Aspect of Economic Reform

Today we have given people what Lenin promised but did not give: real democracy, freedom of meeting and assembly. The workers have finally felt that they are the owners in production. Essentially Lenin's ideas have only now triumphed in society. But at the same time we are offering the people the opposite economic direction. In that we differ from Lenin because we are introducing market relations, private ownership, and an economy based on it.

Everyone realizes that the more state property he manages to take now the better a capitalist he will be. That is why a circus is beginning: The policy is taking for themselves—from fines, judges are taking money from all legal cases, prosecutors are taking money for suspending investigations. Everyone wants to get more. And only at large enterprises is there nothing to take. The people who work there can see that one person has already been lucky, one person has already been successful, another has already become a capitalist, but we still have nothing. There will be a certain number of people who have been deceived. For me that is an enormous drama since I come from a workers' background and the largest number of victims come from that background. But not everyone must become a capitalist, since then there would be no one to do the work and in that case we would be obliged to conquer the people on Mars or some other planet to do the work.

On the Role of the President and His Mutual Relations With the Government

During the first year I set myself the task of learning to be president (Lech Walesa was elected president of Poland in December 1990 for a five-year term—I.D.) and at the same time I tried to put an end to the struggle waged by the opposition. In addition we tried to determine the competence of the authorities, which we have still not managed to do completely. The majority thought: We have elected a president and now he will do it all. Of course I tried but there is the Sejm, the government, the prosecutor's office. Each has its own interests. I was even applauded but people themselves did nothing. You know, I have worked solidly for 20 years but when on one occasion I did not manage to do something—no one looked at what I had managed to do during that time. Everyone discussed only what I had not been able to do. It is the same in politics.

Shortcomings in legislation had an effect. I realized that the new system requires new management, the right to issue decrees (edicts—I.D.). For a long time they did not give me that right. My second government—the nonparty one—was created within the concept of decrees but we still did not receive the right to issue decrees. And now the opposite is the case. We now have our fourth, coalition, government, and I have been given the right to issue decrees, but how to agree to their text between the seven parties that make up the cabinet? It is impossible to resolve vexed questions.

Is it possible to have a multiparty government at all? Will I not be obliged to return to the concept of a nonparty cabinet? I hope that everything will go well for them there because such a government is more democratic. But I warn them that if things do not go well I shall be obliged to make my next move.

Today we already have four sets of ministers. I meet with them sometimes and many people say that if I were a minister now I would know what to do. Of course, we have lost something from the frequent change of government but that was essential for the future. Because you cannot change society but you can change a government.

On Mutual Relations With Other States

I do not believe in Western aid. Of course, they have good publicity, but we should not be naive. If they give us money, then it is at an interest rate. If they invest something in our country then it is to earn a lot of money at our expense. And we earn less from them. Unless we help ourselves no one will help us, and let's not believe that nonsense. In business there are no sentiments, sentiments can exist between man and wife, and not always even then.

On Personal Foreign Contacts

In my work I have to make trips abroad. But when I travel somewhere I always think: Am I still president or no longer president? Mr. Gorbachev used to travel a lot. When he came to his senses, he was no longer president. Such are the times we live in...

I am not seeking to guard my position but I want to work. I cannot say I am very interested in this post, but I have already done something on the basis of my concept and I want to complete it. So I am trying to stick more closely to my country. When I retire on pension I shall certainly travel a lot. It is true that then no one will want to talk with me.

Speaker Chrzanowski Interviewed on Sejm Issues

PM2601165193 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 18 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Sejm Speaker Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski by correspondent Elzbieta Graczyk; place and date not given]

[Text] [Graczyk] Highly imperfect organization, a lack of a sound hierarchy of the importance of the subjects under Sejm debate, and verbal sparring in which even some deputy Sejm speakers have been indulging: These are the sins for which the public reproaches Sejm deputies and the Sejm Presidium alike. Are such reproaches justified?

[Chrzanowski] It would be awkward for me either to criticize or to paint a rosy picture of the body over which I preside. All I can do—and I do it whenever necessary—is answer specific charges and allegations and explain specific situations, but I must leave all judgment of the deputies or parliament to the general public.

[Graczyk] Do you, for instance, believe that the abortion issue was of sufficient weight to justify parliamentary debates on it here and now, so to speak?

[Chrzanowski] Contrary to what the press would have us believe as a result of its noisy campaigns, the debate on the bill on the protection of conceived life occupied the Sejm's attention for only three plenary sessions, and even then for only part of the time devoted to each session. If you were to join them all together, they would last one full day. Is it really too much to devote one day to a matter which is most important to a significant number of deputies since it does, after all, involve the question of human life?

To go back to your question about the order of importance of the Sejm's concerns, there certainly have been many matters which take up too much of the Sejm's time and agenda. I am thinking here first and foremost of the number of Sejm resolutions. There is a certain element of showmanship involved in submitting a proposal that the Sejm pass a resolution: By so doing, deputies hold their favorite issues up for the government to notice and, to a certain extent, they also court publicity. I must also admit, albeit with regret, that it is true that inconsequential matters have sometimes received far too much attention in the Sejm and were discussed much longer than they deserved. In defense of our institution, I will quote the little book that once received so much acclaim; "Parkinson's Law." It mentions the inordinate amount of time and energy expended by boards of directors of major concerns on discussing their coffee and biscuit budget. This is because everybody feels competent to talk about coffee and biscuits. On the other hand, when it comes to decisions about spending millions or billions of pounds, "common sense" is not much use: Only one or two experts know what is involved, and the whole board comes to make the decision pretty quickly. This is how things are in parliaments, too.

Consequently, it is sometimes a good thing that the really important bills do not give rise to such impetuous discussions in parliament—and yet they are debated and passed all the same.

[Graczyk] Let us go back to the question of public assessment of the Sejm. Recently, a group of deputies hailing mostly but not exclusively from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] submitted a motion proposing that the Sejm Presidium be recalled.

[Chrzanowski] I believe that, to a large extent, this motion was politically motivated. It represents a pressure for a change exerted by parliamentary caucuses which have no delegates of their own on the Sejm Presidium. I do not believe such a change would be either necessary or justified. For some 14 months now we have cooperated loyally despite the odd configuration in which three members of the Presidium belong to the parties that form the government coalition and two represent parties outside the coalition. Despite certain essential substantive differences, a configuration of mutual responsibility and accountability is preserved. The Sejm code of rules and regulations is still imperfect. Finishing and perfecting it is quite a difficult task because of the diverse interests represented in the lower house...

[Graczyk] In your statement on the recent matter of the "two-hands" voting practice in parliament, you directed the main force of your disapproval at the reporter who disclosed the voting irregularities. You interpreted the whole thing as "manipulation" where there was most evident fraud on the part of the deputy involved.

[Chrzanowski] But the manner in which the incidents were presented by the press indicated obvious manipulation! I have a grudge against Chairman Zaorski about that. I promptly moved to have the whole case investigated by the prosecutor's office because that was the most obvious course to take. However, not everyone shared my opinion. The real problem lies elsewhere: in the fact that the information gained on fraudulent voting procedures was suppressed for a time. It was then "activated" at a chosen moment and this manufactured a politically charged situation. Another related issue concerns the actual words which were used at the time. The reporter concerned stated that the use of the fraudulent voting procedure is widespread in the back benches! A reporter is entitled to express his comment, but that was a manifest abuse of his entitlement. It placed many deputies under suspicion. Such allegations must be documented and made at the time of the discovery, not kept under covers and then highlighted as a political sensation.

[Graczyk] Another matter, albeit maybe not of purely political concern, is that of the consequences that the Lodz prosecutors will have to face as a result of their excessive zeal in pursuing the case of Sejm Speaker Kern's daughter [allegedly abducted by boyfriend]. It is a matter of public knowledge that Mr. Kern cultivates very

close contacts with the legal circles in Lodz. The prosecutors involved in the case will now have to pay for the "goodwill" which they extended to Speaker Kern. In your view, does Mr. Kern himself not carry some of the moral responsibility for this development?

[Chrzanowski] As far as I know, the justice minister has registered his reservations concerning the procedures used in the investigation of the case of Speaker Kern's daughter. If the prosecutors involved are found to have overreached their competence, they might have to bear the consequences. Kern was the dean of the Lodz bar association, but this does not necessarily prove that someone deliberately transgressed the law for his sake. In any case, Speaker Kern is convinced that they acted according to prescribed procedures. He is entitled to believe that regardless of the eventual outcome of the justice minister's investigation. I do not feel entitled to judge another person's intentions. They are Mr. Kern's personal concern.

[Graczyk] And one more question for you in your capacity as Christian National Union [ZChN] chairman. How do you assess the chances of your party today? If the election were to be brought forward, would you be able to hold on to your position? Do such controversial deputies as Stefan Niesiolowski, Jan Lopuszanski, Marek Jurek, or [Deputy] Prime Minister Goryszewski attract more potential voters for you, or is the reverse the case? The aforementioned are the most popular figures in the ZChN, despite the controversy which, as you must agree, surrounds most of their public appearances.

[Chrzanowski] Since its creation more than three years ago, the ZChN has become a permanent element of Poland's political scene. It is a member of the government coalition and its politicians are active in the government. However, the situation is certainly not ready for a new election. There is much fragmentation on the political stage, and individual parties and political groups are not sufficiently clearly defined. A premature election would only serve to arrest the advantageous processes that are currently taking place in the organization of the state, the economy, and in legislation. Would we take part in the next election as the same political group, the ZChN? I do not know. It will depend on very many factors.

The ZChN deputies whom you mentioned above are not the only party activists among us. For example, you seem to have forgotten about me. There are many differences of political temperament and preference among our electorate. Some of them may refuse to vote for the ZChN because they do not necessarily approve of what Deputy Niesiolowski is like. Conversely, some people will vote in favor of the ZChN precisely because it groups such people as Deputies Niesiolowski or Lopuszanski.

[Graczyk] Professor, let me now ask a more personal question. Among the television programs which, according to certain members of your party, lack the so-called Christian values, are "Mini-Cabaret" and "The Polish Zoo." What is your opinion of these programs? Should they be banned?

[Chrzanowski] No, why should they? I do not watch "Mini Cabaret", so I cannot say much about it, but I have seen "The Polish Zoo" many times, and watched myself represented in it. I would say that it was probably more funny in the beginning, and that these days it is occasionally slightly tedious, but on the whole it is a good program.

[Graczyk] What about "romantic" films that include some nude scenes on the screen?

[Chrzanowski] To tell the truth, we all know that elusive borderline which should not be crossed there. I have nothing against nudity: After all, it was at some time in the past even introduced into churches. Now, pornography is a different matter altogether. But the difference really needs no explanation.

Finance Minister Osiatynski Discusses Budget

AU2701164293 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA Weekend Supplement in Polish 22-24 Jan 93 p III

[Interview with Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "A Difficult Compromise Budget"]

[Text] [NOWA EUROPA] Minister, will it be possible to realize this year's budget, which has a projected permissable deficit of 81 trillion [zlotys], in a situation in which the Sejm has not agreed to a higher rate of taxation on energy, lower pension and benefit reviews, and the canceling of housing loans? The proposal to automatically link wages in the state budget sector to those in industry is also a completely real possibility. The level of personal income tax has not been settled yet. Is it necessary to create a completely new budget?

[Osiatynski] It is still possible to realize the budget in certain respects. The government can, for example, propose—I am saying this as finance minister—a law that would annul all decisions connected with the budget that would be disadvantageous to it. The vote on such a law would also be a vote of confidence in the government. That could be termed a risky move. However, agreement to increase the budget deficit by 20 trillion zlotys or more would mean higher inflation and a departure from the principles of economic policy that the government had earlier announced and that the Sejm had approved.

[NOWA EUROPA] Would that be the only solution?

[Osiatynski] It is obvious that it is not the only solution. Energy prices will still be set by the state, even if the value-added tax rate is lower. So, they can be raised in the way envisaged by the budget law. The energy sector would then have a higher income and higher profits. Thus, it would have to pay more income tax. It would be much more difficult to do that with the gas industry

because it would only be slightly less in the red after price increases; the same applies to the coal mining industry.

As for wages in the state sector sphere, the solution is similar, that is to say, the 13 trillion zlotys allocated for two increases in the sector in April and in September would be enough to cover 90 percent of the review. However, employment would have to be reduced by between 180,000 and 220,000 this year. For political reasons, the solution is unacceptable. That has to be stated in the Sejm.

In the case of the law on credit relations, the legislative procedure has still not been completed. The Senate may decide to reject it, and then the Sejm would have to vote on it again.

Last year, when the Sejm rejected the government proposal to amend the law on reviewing pensions and benefits, I said that it would cost the budget an additional 1.8 trillion. In the fall of 1992, that money could still have been used. I cannot imagine that being possible this year because the sums involved are much greater.

If the Sejm decided to increase the deficit, the country will not collapse and cease to function as a result. However, in making any kind of decision, one has to be able to answer the question of how a particular decision will affect the money supply and the inflation rate. Who will gain and who will lose as a result of this inflation tax?

Frankly, I do not quite know what the Sejm will still change about the budget and the laws accompanying it. I must, however, pose the following question: What is the point in the Sejm passing more just laws, if the funds are not available for them?

[NOWA EUROPA] Last year, when you were still a deputy, you were one of the main opponents of the budget that you later had to implement and, we may add, quite efficiently. When you became finance minister, why did you not begin by amending it?

[Osiatynski] I am sorry, but I did amend the budget. As finance minister, I received information to which I did not have access as a deputy. I quickly realized the budget receipts were significantly below the estimates. However, I did not want to raise income tax or introduce an import tax behind the Sejm's back. It was also difficult to obtain the EEC's consent to the introduction of an import tax. That is why the changes were introduced later.

[NOWA EUROPA] There has been considerable confusion about the size of last year's budget deficit. Was it really less than 12 trillion?

[Osiatynski] The budget deficit was lower at the end of the year, but that in no way means that the finance minister has an additional 12 trillion. At the end of the year, the commercial banks declined to extend the finance minister further loans. In the budget amendment, I requested further loans from both the central bank and commercial banks. I obtained agreement for that. The National Bank of Poland provided a loan of a further 12 trillion zlotys.

On the other hand, I did not get any money from the commercial banks. At two sales of treasury bonds in December, demand was negligible. I had to buy more bonds than I could sell. It has to be remembered that the bond market is only beginning to function. We envisaged demand being lower at the end of the year, but not as low as it actually was.

Because I did not receive the loans, the problem of where money was to come from arose. Fortunately, income tax receipts provided some additional funds. In addition, we settled our mutual obligations in relation to banks, and that provided a further trillion zlotys. Finally, we obtained a further trillion zlotys in the form of advance from enterprises that paid the first income tax installment for 1993.

We envisaged sales tax receipts that would amount to 103.4 trillion zlotys, but the actual amount was 102.9 trillion, so there was a shortfall of 500 billion zlotys. So, the deficit was lower—I stress this again—not because the finance minister did not want to spend money, but because he did not have any way of finding it to spend it.

[NOWA EUROPA] So, will the cost of servicing the debt be lower?

[Osiatynski] Only marginally because at the beginning of January I obtained the money that the commercial banks refused me at the end of the year. I am paying off the debt with 26-week bonds. Now, however, supply significantly exceeds demand. In December, offers to buy amounted to between 2 and 3 trillion zlotys, at the first January auction they amounted to 12 trillion zlotys, and to 15 trillion zlotys at the second.

[NOWA EUROPA] What possibilities are there of financing this year's deficit, assuming that 30 trillion zlotys will be covered by the National Bank of Poland?

[Osiatynski] With the current money supply and rate at which gross domestic product is growing, the deficit can be financed.

[NOWA EUROPA] It is being charged that this year's budget has a passive character.

[Osiatynski] That is true. I would also like it to have a more active character. However, regarding the expenditure that could be financed, individual ministers would have to display more concern about such expenditure contributing to changes in the structure of the economy than to perpetuating what exists.

[NOWA EUROPA] How will international financial institutions react to the Sejm's possible rejection of the government version of the budget?

[Osiatynski] The consequences of such a decision could be very disadvantageous. It is something I am somewhat

afraid to speak about because many deputies accuse us of using the IMF to blackmail them. I no longer have the energy to explain that the IMF and the World Bank have many clients for loans like Poland and that the competition in this market is fierce.

If there is no budget, there will be no agreement with the IMF. An additional deficit of the order of 20 trillion zlotys will, I believe, be rejected by the institution. The lack of an agreement would make it impossible to obtain access to a further $650 million of new credits. It would call into question a second round of debt reduction talks with the Paris Club. We will not receive loans from the World Bank. It is a question of two loans that were already to be extended and a further four that were to be negotiated.

All in all, the struggle is for several billion dollars in 1993 and an additional loan for assistance in repaying debts to the commercial banks. However, a condition for concluding an agreement with the London Club is the signing of an agreement with the IMF. The Stabilization Fund is to provide us with funds for restructuring the banks and for enterprise debt relief. Without that money, it would be difficult to talk about restructuring the banking system and enterprise debt relief.

[NOWA EUROPA] Is the finance minister an accountant?

[Osiatynski] The finance minister, putting it humorously, spends almost the entire day answering the telephone. Of course he is not an accountant, and he does not feel himself to be one. Those figures that I am talking about conceal important monetary processes and real processes. They are all links in a chain. Officials at the Finance Ministry prepare financial analyses and forecasts; they follow changes in the tax on supernumerary wage increases and the tax on state enterprise assets. An ongoing assessment is made of the effects of the decisions in the banking system and their impact on interests rates.

[NOWA EUROPA] Recently, two ways of settling taxation issues were proposed. One was proposed by the liberals and the other by the Union of Labor. Which of them do you identify with more?

[Osiatynski] The liberals' proposal is very original because it envisages a single income tax rate. I do not know of any country in which such a solution has been applied. The Finance Ministry proposed raising the average tax rate by about 1.5 percent, with an average tax burden of 16-17 percent. If liberals say that is excessive fiscalism while they themselves propose an increase in the tax rate of 8 to 9 points, then I do not understand what fiscalism is, but I understand that it is not about the level of the increases, but about the distribution of the tax burden. They would like higher incomes to be taxed to a relatively lesser extent. I believe that to be a political illusion.

[NOWA EUROPA] The Union of Labor has proposed changes in the tax on personal income that would reduce taxation for single persons who are bringing up children alone and providing certain allowances for every child in a family. What is your reaction to that?

[Osiatynski] I do not think that social policy should be realized with the help of tax instruments. Deputy Borowski presented an interesting concept for settling taxation issues. It comes down to freezing thresholds and allowances and costs while simultaneously raising taxes by 6 percent. In this case, those who earn more than 4 million zlotys would pay higher taxes. The proposal would yield the same revenue as the government's concept, but is a proposal that proceeds in the opposite direction to the one put forward by the liberals. My favorite proposal is the government's one.

Clinton's Difficulties in Keeping Promises Noted

AU2801094793 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by Carmina Haseganu: "Bill Clinton at the White House—Who Is the New President and What Does He Want"]

[Excerpts] The new President of the United States of America was born on 19 August 1946 in the town of Hope, State of Arkansas. [passage omitted]

Bill Clinton, who represents the Democratic Party, has become the 42d President of the United States of America, putting an end to a 12-year period of Republican rule.

Political analysts believe that Bill Clinton won the elections thanks to his platform that favors substantial changes at the White House and in the American society. He placed himself in a center-right position within the Democratic Party, which currently means to express the interests of the American middle class. His victory is due to the fact that he understood that currently America is no longer so interested in international problems, that the elimination of the East-West conflict and the economic difficulties will move the center of the public's attention to domestic problems, primarily economic problems. Clinton believes that the state should play a big role in stimulating and developing economy, but he is talking about a typical American "model." [passage omitted]

Abandoned Electoral Promises

In his electoral campaign, Bill Clinton was perhaps excessively generous with his promises, but later he was compelled to abandon some of them. Clinton had to accept "for the time being" the policy initiated by George Bush as far as the forced return of the Haitian refugees who asked for political asylum in the United States is concerned. Although he often promised that his major concern is going to be the domestic policy and less the foreign policy of the United States, Clinton will be confronted with the complicated problems of solving the conflict in Bosnia, with the withdrawal—one wonders when?—of the American forces deployed in Somalia, and with condemning or not condemning China for the violation of human rights. On the other hand, the curtailments imposed by the federal budget deficit forced him to review some points in his electoral platform that refer to ensuring health care "for all" and to reducing taxes for the representatives of the middle class, and so on and so forth.

"The New Democrat" who is "an activist and center-oriented"—as political observers characterized him—he sees himself sooner than expected caught between what he had promised and what he will be able to fulfill in concrete terms, because the inheritance left behind by George Bush is indeed a "heavy" one and "sometimes reality is the one that is ruling and not politics" as one of his counselors noted.

Dailies Report on 'Bugging Scandal'

AU2801115293

[Editorial Report] Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian on 20 January carries a 200-word article on page 2 signed by Anca Alexandru and Horia Tabacu, entitled: "Mr. Cazimir Ionescu's Telephone Has Been Bugged," saying that—using a BIRD [expansion unknown]-type U.S.-made listening device detector—the two reporters had started a series of investigations meant to find out whether offices and telephones of political personalities are being tapped. After mentioning that in the office of National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party (PNTCD) President "Corneliu Coposu and in the halls of the PNTCD and PUSD (Social-Democratic Unity Party) the detector did not indicate anything," the authors say that "a surprise came as we checked the two telephones in the office of Mr. Cazimir Ionescu, a significant personality of the FSN (National Salvation Front) Executive Bureau," because while examining one of those telephones "the needle of the detector indicated the presence of a listening device." The authors conclude the item by promising to check "other parties' headquarters, the living quarters of dignitaries, and high-class restaurants, the meeting place of VIP's, over the coming days."

Related to the same issue, Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 21 January on page 1 carries a 300-word article signed by Andrei Badin and Bogdan Costea, entitled "Watergate Romanian-Style—There Are Listening Devices in the Meeting Hall of the Democratic Convention and at Mr. Dinu Patriciu's Home," claiming that on the previous days "experts revealed" such devices and that National Liberal Party-Young Wing (PNL-AT) Steering Body member Dinu Patriciu stated that "they had been placed—very unprofessionally—behind the central heating radiators" in the rooms mentioned. Four of the five telephones installed at Dinu Patriciu's home, "including the one in the kitchen" have also been bugged, and that is why "Mr. Patriciu said he would address complaints to the General Prosecutor's Office" and "he would also inform the Parliamentary Commission for National Defense and Security in respect of that situation," which he termed "a scandal." The authors conclude by mentioning that they contacted Nicolae Ulieru, the spokesman of the Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI), who refused to comment on the issue, claiming that he had not heard anything about it before the journalists' call. Ulieru promises to comment on the scandal after he is briefed.

The same issue of ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on page 3 carries a 150-word article signed by Andrei Badin and Bogdan Costea, containing the statement of FSN leader Petre Roman, currently also chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for National Defense and

Security, who promises "to discuss the issue in the next meeting of the commission, and—depending on the outcome of those talks—to ask for explanations concerning the revelations."

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 22 January on page 3 carries a Bogdan Costea-signed article entitled "The Bugging Scandal Widens, FSN Bucharest Also Affected—Mr. Severin: 'There Is A Scheme To Discredit the Members of the Opposition'" in which FSN Vice-President Adrian Severin claims that similar listening devices have been found at FSN Bucharest branch headquarters. Severin, former director of the National Agency for Privatization reveals that he learned that all his office telephones were tapped during the time when he was head of that agency. The item concludes with a quotation from Severin's statement, saying that "according to unofficial information received from Cotroceni Palace (presidential headquarters), some time ago they elaborated a scheme meant to totally discredit the opposition parties, which includes the tapping of telephone conversations, the threatening of persons cooperating with the opposition and of the experts who are consulted by the opposition. That scheme is running simultaneously with the setting up of a so-called extra-parliamentary opposition."

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 23 January on page 3 carries a U. Valureanu-AR PRESS-signed article reporting on the fact that presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu had refused to comment on the issue, saying that he might discuss it only after authorities have looked into the matter.

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 22 January on page 3 carries an article signed by Bogdan Costea, reporting on SRI spokesman Nicolae Ulieru's promised statement. Talking on behalf of SRI, Ulieru reportedly said that "the SRI has nothing to do with those microphones, and the whole issue is of no interest to us. They should have been discovered by the proper bodies that are authorized to do such things... like the police, the public prosecutor, and so on. The fact that those microphones have been found is an issue that could be used for political purposes. How am I to know that they had not installed the microphones themselves so that they could find them later on and make a fuss about it? I repeat, they should have been discovered by the competent bodies."

"No comment," the item concludes.

Spiroiu, Dutch Defense Minister Sign Protocol

AU2701174493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1658 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/1/1993—Romanian Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu signed Wednesday, January 27, together with his Dutch counterpart Relus ter Beek, the "Protocol Between the Romanian Defense Minister and the Defense Minister of the Netherlands on Development of Military Relations."

Iliescu Protests Serbian Sanctions-Busting Barges

AU2701104193 Paris AFP in English 1014 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Jan 27 (AFP)—A sanctions-busting river convoy of barges carrying 6,000 tonnes of fuel oil docked Wednesday [27 January] at the Danube River port of Prahovo in Serbia, officials said here. [passage omitted]

The tug Bihac and its six barges had sailed into Serbian waters, just after the border triangle joining Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria, at 2030 (1930 GMT) Tuesday, said Colonel Dragomir Horomnea, a spokesman for the Romanian Coast Guard command. [passage omitted]

Romanian President Ion Iliescu met here late Tuesday with the prime minister and the foreign and transport ministers as well as a top Interior Ministry official to "review the situation created by the flagrant violation of the embargo against Yugoslavia by ships belonging to this country," an official statement said.

They decided at the meeting that Bucharest would "urgently take a set of measures conforming with its obligations under the UN Security Council resolution" imposing the embargo, the communique said.

Colonel Horomnea said a fifth fleet of 12 barges, being pushed up the Danube by the Kumanovo tugboat, had escaped the Romanian customs, bringing to four the number of Serbian fleets in the river still intent on breaking the embargo.

Their crews have threatened to set the cargo on fire if any attempt is made to stop them. They had all been held for a month at eastern Romanian river ports under the UN embargo. [passage omitted]

Second Serbian Barge Convoy Refuses To Stop

AU2701123093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] From Colonel Ioan (Balai), deputy chief of the National Border Guards Command, which is in charge of the guarding and supervision of our frontiers, we have learned that the Serbian tug Bihac entered Serbian Danube waters late Tuesday [26 January] night, around 2200 hours. He also told us that the Kaymak-Chalan convoy of barges has sailed past Giurgiu, where, although intercepted by the customs authorities of the Port Authority and the Border Police, ignored calls to stop and is heading up the Danube. The Kumanovo tugboat was also intercepted and did not obey calls to stop for checks this morning, at 1050 hours, 25 km from Oltenita downstream.

A few moments ago, our correspondent Cornel Sorescu told us that the vessel (Orasac) sailed past Bechet and refused to obey calls to stop.

'Constraint' Measures Ordered

AU2701144193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1347 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/1/1993—In connection with the flagrant violation on the Danube River by ships under Yugoslav banner of the embargo resolved by the UN Security Council, in a statement made on 27 January, the Romanian Government states, inter alia:

Since the embargo resolution became effective attempts have been made by ships of the Federal Republic [FR] of Yugoslavia to break the embargo by using altered documents as to the their cargoes and destinations, refusing to undergo check-ups by the Romanian authorities, hoisting other pennants than the Yugoslav one, failing to comply with customs regulations.

The Romanian side promptly and firmly solved such attempts, a fact recognized and appreciated as such by the international experts monitoring the observance of the UN sanctions.

However, serious cases of sanction violations have been recorded over the past few days.

On 18 January 1993, pusher Bihac, under Yugoslav banner, changed course under the pretext of having to return to the port of Reni (Ukraine) and set course in a direction opposite to its initial destination, joining towboat Kumanovo and six barges loaded with petrol. Once they reached the river sector of the port of Braila, the Kumanovo tug-boat detached from the convoy leaving the other vessels to continue their course in Yugoslav national waters.

On 23 January 1993 three convoys under Yugoslav banner, loaded with petroleum products and pushed by the Orasac, Velebit, and Kaimakalan, left the port of Reni in the Ukraine. Although summoned by the Romanian authorities to stop for check-ups, the convoys continued their march to Yugoslav territory.

Similarly, on 25 January 1993, pusher Kumanovo and its 12 barges carrying petroleum products, left the Danube arm of Macin abandoning their bills of lading, and set full course to Yugoslav territory.

To comply with the UN Security Council resolutions on the embargo against Yugoslavia, the Romanian authorities proceeded to summoning the ships to a halt and to rounds by frontier patrol ships. Though repeatedly warned by radio and by megaphone by the Romanian port authorities, the Yugoslav ship captains ignored the appeals and kept their course.

The Romanian authorities concerned tried to approach the Yugoslav ships in question and stop their march, paying maximum attention to sparing human lives and averting excessive or irrecuperable [irreparable] damage. The Yugoslav skippers totally ignored any of these actions. Moreover, the captain of the Bihac threatened he would set fire to the cargo or empty it in the Danube, which would have caused an ecological disaster.

These where cases when the Romanian laws and the Belgrade Convention on Danube Navigation were seriously violated. Also violations are the acts of navigating without appropriate documents after abandoning them, the hoisting of other states' pennants, the failure to comply with halting summons, radio disconnection, and evasion from customs regulations.

To have such grave breaches of the embargo sanctions brought to an end, the Romanian authorities have approached the UN Security Council, the UN Sanctions Committee, the authorities of the FR of Yugoslavia, and have also contacted competent authorities in the Ukraine and Bulgaria. Romania's General Attorney's Office was also notified of the said violations, to enable it take [to allow] legal actions against Yugoslav citizens who have disregarded legal provisions governing navigation on the Danube.

Under such circumstances, the Government of Romania ordered that the Romanian relevant institutions take all the measures provided for by the resolutions of the UN Security Council relative to the strict observance of the embargo against Yugoslavia, including measures of constraint, in compliance with the relevant stipulations of the said resolutions.

Likewise, the Romanian Government will keep in permanent touch with the governments of other Danube countries to reach agreements prohibiting loading and transport of goods subject to embargo or effected with ships belonging to the FR of Yugoslavia, and allowing for the strict observance of the UN Security Council resolutions.

The Government of Romania will again seek the help of CSCE countries and the UN Security Council, for the endowment with the technical means permitting the strict enforcement of the embargo measures in respect of river shipments on the Danube, the Romanian Government's statement winds up.

Yugoslav Ship Disobeys Order

AU2701173693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/1/1993—The control team formed of Romanian and Bulgarian authorities accompanied on January 27 around 1200 the Kajmakalan Yugoslav ship along some 11 km. The crew of the Yugoslav ship did not obey the order to stop and wait for the control, continuing instead to sail upstream.

A representative of the UN sanction commission carrying on activity in Bulgaria was on the control speed boat of the Bulgarian authorities.

A Romanian helicopter flew over all along.

Serbian Barge Convoy Reaches Prahovo Port in FRY

AU2701190293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/1/1993—As reported by the duty operator of the control tower of the Romanian water-gate of the Iron Gates II, the Yugoslav ship Bihac and the barges it towed reached Prahovo, the first port upstream the Danube, in Yugoslavia's territory, already on January 26 evening, around 2230-2245.

No request was made to the staff of the Romanian watergate for passage from Tuesday [26 January] to Wednesday. And now, the Yugoslav ship is at anchor in the port some 5 km downstream the Iron Gates hydroelectric and shipping system.

Difficulties in Stopping Ships Outlined

AU2701204093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2018 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/1/1993—For a week in the former Danube checkpoint of Chiciu—where the Danube parts in several branches becoming national waters—five convoys of Yugoslav barges carrying oil sailed upstream. These were: Bihac (10 boats, January 21, 0800 hrs), Orasac (two boats, January 24, 2300 hrs), Velebitz (10 boats, January 25, 0900 hrs), Kaimakalan (10 boats, January 26, 2025 hrs), and Kumanovo (12 boats, January 27, 0450 hrs).

The local officials informed that the captains did not answer the orders to pull up and allow inspection. Those that sailed at night did so without any lights on thus creating a hazard for Danube circulation. Only the captain of the Bihac convoy answered the radio calls, saying he was headed for the Bulgarian port of Vidin and threatening he would set fire to his cargo if attempts were made to stop him.

The local officials said they did not have the necessary technical equipment to compel the convoys to submit to inspection.

Until September 1973 in Chiciu there was a checkpoint for customs and sanitary inspection which was shown on sailing maps and where all foreign ships sailing into or out of Romanian territorial waters had to stop. Now any ship can sail into and out of Romanian waters through Chiciu and the other checkpoints are too far away downstream.

The opinion was heard that the Romanian Government should reinstate the Chiciu checkpoint.

About the blatant breaches of the UN embargo on Yugoslavia, a local official said: "The UN Security Council and the U.S. Government told Romania and Bulgaria to take any measures necessary to stop the Serbian convoys that breach the embargo. Why aren't there severe restrictions against Ukraine, where all these barges are loaded, so as to make it turn the taps off? Why don't they attack the root of the problem and deal only with the effects?"

Ecological Disaster Foreseen if FRY Ships Burned

AU2801102893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/1/1993—Related to the effects of a potential setting on fire of the cargo on the Yugoslav ships, which are forcing their way on the Danube, Ion Jelev, Secretary of State of the Department for Ecology and of the Romanian Ministry of Waters, Forests, and Environment Protection considers that "a setting on fire of the oil cargo would mean an ecological disaster, with most serious effects. The eco-system in the area would be seriously disbalanced and mass destruction phenomena of the water fauna would be recorded. Romania would support the consequences of polluted water overflow into the sea, which would run counter to the Black Sea Convention," stressed Mr. Jelev.

Serb Tugboat Passes Calafat; Does Not Halt

AU2801081393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Our reporter informed us a few minutes ago that the convoy of barges towed by the tugboat Orasac during the night passed the Danube port of Calafat. Port authorities tried to contact the ship via radio, but their calls were not answered, and the convoy of Yugoslav vessels continued its route.

UN Contacted on Embargo Breach

AU2801101693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] A communique issued by Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs lists the steps taken by the Romanian side to solve the situation created by the passage of a number of Yugoslav vessels through the Romanian and the Romanian-Bulgarian sectors of the Danube, against the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro imposed by the UN Security Council.

The communique—presented to the press at a news conference held yesterday by a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—highlights the fact that the UN Security Council and the Sanctions Commission have been notified about the situation in qUestion and the measures thus far taken—albeit ineffectively—by the Romanian authorities, and considers that those bodies can adopt the measures they deem necessary.

Press Blames West for Serb Barge Crisis

AU2801103793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 28 Jan 93

[From the Romanian press review of 28 January]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/1/1993—The breach on the Danube by ships under Yugoslav banner of the embargo of the Security Council against Yugoslavia, the explosive situation so created, and the stance taken by the Romanian Government on 27 January form the favorite topic of the Romanian central dailies of 28 January. They all print the statement of the Romanian cabinet on the developments on the Danube and the position of the U.S. State Department to the issue in question.

ADEVARUL gives a commentary on the matter showing that "in fact the root of the evil in the embargo scandal lies in the very acceptance of the port authorities of Reni and Ismail (Ukraine) to load the Yugoslav ships. With Ukrainian and Bulgarian authorities less willing to observe the embargo as strictly as Romania is, barring Yugoslav ships is impossible." Romania is thus pushed into a no-way-out situation, ADEVARUL concludes, because "none of those demanding the use of all the necessary means is capable to advise on what means and should be resorted to and in what circumstances."

EVENIMENTUL ZILEI writes in its editorial: "By avoiding to specify what measures Romania is supposed to take, the U.S.A. is relegating to Romania the responsibility for the nefarious consequences of an intervention by force. It is obvious that the U.S.A. is trying to shrink from responsibilities. The western world is throwing the dead body in our garden. Such cowardice is all the more surprising as it comes from the great powers that orchestrated the embargo. To come out of this tight spot, the West contends itself to put pressure on Romania, to scold it for not having done enough, and to urge it to risk its own neck without the slightest guarantee from the same West that it might later assume part of the losses incurred." The paper reminds that "Romania has conscientiously observed the UN resolutions on Iraq and Yugoslavia and that all it got from it was a loss of billions of dollars, while the West never thought for a second to make up for the damage. This explains why Romanians see declarations coming from the West with distrust." [passage omitted]

Authorities Try To Stop Yugoslav Convoy

AU2801120793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Regarding the violation of the Danube embargo by Yugoslav vessels, the National Border Guard Command reports the following:

After the tug Bihac, a second convoy consisting of the tug Orasac and its four barges left Romanian waters and entered Serbian waters after sailing upstream along the Reni, Chiciu, Calafat route. Information supplied an hour ago locates other Yugoslav convoys on the Danube, as follows: the tug Velebit with 10 barges was near the port of Bechet at the Gura Jiului point heading toward Calafat; the tug Kalmakalan was 10 km downstream from Turnu Magurele, with two of its 10 barges being towed away by a Serbian tug; the tugboat Kumanovo with 12 barges is 35 km downstream from Zimnicea, near Pietrosani.

All these vessels were intercepted by the organs of the customs and port authorities in Chiciu, Oltenita, and Giurgiu by the coast guard and border units. They were hailed by Romanian vessels and by international code signals to stop for inspection. The Yugoslav vessels were also contacted by radio from various port authority commands. At Giurgiu and Oltenita, a helicopter issued sound warnings. The Yugoslav vessels refused to stop and come alongside the quay. They are not heeding the signals, they have broken radio contact, refuse any dialogue, and are continuing their course up the Danube toward the Yugoslav zone of the river.

The Romanian port authorities, the Coast Guard, and the border guards are taking further steps to ensure the observance of the embargo established by the UN Security Council resolutions. The National Border Guard Command also told us that new actions are being envisaged to intercept and stop the three convoys at Calafat. Likewise, port authority officials, police, and border guards from Romania and Bulgaria intend to hold a meeting in either Calafat or Vidin.

Another piece of information: If the Velebit maintains its course, it will reach Calafat at midnight, while the other two convoys will reach there tomorrow.

Communique Issued

AU2801152993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] The press office of the Romanian Interior Ministry has sent us the following communique:

On the initiative of the leadership of the Interior Ministry, on 28 January 1993 a meeting has been held between His Excellency, Mr. Dezimir Jevtic. Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—and Mr. Nicolae Craciun, State Secretary of the Interior Ministry. During the meeting they discussed the nonobservance of Resolutions 757 and 787 of 1993 of the UN Security Council by convoys of vessels loaded with fuel, sailing under the Yugoslav flag and heading for Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav ambassador was briefed on the fact that all attempts by the Romanian authorities to stop those vessels in the ports of Oltenita and Giurgiu have failed to yield any results because the captains refused to obey signals to stop. The ambassador was also informed of the fact that the Romanian and Bulgarian authorities will cooperate on all measures intended to halt the progress

of the three vessels at the Calafat [Romania]-Vidin [Bulgaria] checkpoint, and he was asked to convey to the appropriate authorities in his country that the Romanian Interior Ministry proposes that the commanders of the vessels be ordered to obey warning calls that will be addressed to them.

The ambassador has stated that he understands the situation which has been created and has promised to convey these requests to the Yugoslav authorities.

The meeting was also attended by Mr. Serban (?Cucu), Chief Inspector of Civil Shipping in Romania's Ministry of Transports.

European Association Agreement To Be Signed 1 Feb

AU2701150093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1132 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/1/1993—The Government's Press Department announced that Romania will sign on 1 February 1993 the European Agreement of Association to the European Communities.

The event will mark a further step in the Romanian-communitarian relations, towards an institutionalized political dialogue and privileged economic cooperation.

The European Agreement of Association is due to be signed in Brussels by Romania's Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu who will head an official delegation to include Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and foreign minister of Romania, Constantin Teculescu, minister of trade, Napoleon Pop, state secretary and head of the Department for European Integration, advisers and experts.

On the occasion, the Romanian foreign minister will sign, for the Romanian side, the interim agreement to enable a start in economic cooperation with the European communities before a ratification of the agreement of association by Romania's Parliament, by the European Parliament and by parliaments of the European Community member states.

During the trip, the premier will have meetings with Niels Helveg Petersen, acting president of the Council of the European Community, with Hans van den Broek and Leon Brittan, vice presidents of the European Community Commission.

The schedule of the visit of the Romanian premier will include also meetings with high officials in Belgium.

Vacaroiu, Ambassadors Conduct 'Positive' Dialogue

AU2801155893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1412 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/1/1993—Nicolae Vacaroiu, prime minister of Romania, met ambassadors of the states in the membership of the Group of 24.

It was a useful, positive dialogue, as the ambassadors we met represent the states that must support us further in external financing within the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] assistance programme, the Romanian premier told the press.

Turcu Refutes Allegations of CIA Involvement

AU2701193793 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 18 Jan 93 p 8

[Part one of article by Liviu Turcu: "Telling the Truth in Romania Today Is a Political Crime; Three Quarters of the Members of the Current Government Worked for the Securitate"—introductory paragraph signed by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI editor Sorin Rosca Stanescu]

[Text] As is well known, the Misu Negritoiu scandal erupted in Washington through the disclosures made by Liviu Turcu in EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. A less expected but prompt reply came from Mr. Silviu Brucan, who accused Liviu Turcu of working for the CIA. Other politicians also reacted by accusing Liviu Turcu from the position of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]. Consistent with its principles, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI also published these reactions. To refute the accusations made by Mr. Silviu Brucan and other adversaries, Mr. Liviu Turcu sent us his position yesterday and asked us to fully publish it. So, we have another Liviu Turcu series.

From the outset, I want to point out that the addressee of my material published in EVENIMENTUL ZILEI was, and continues to be the Romania public opinion. The violent reaction of the officials in question, and the unprecedented attempt of destroying my credibility by simply burying me under an avalanche of mud and lies (see the unqualifiable statements made by Misu Negritoiu, Vasile Vacaru, and Silviu Brucan) confirm their total confusion as well as the total confusion of the people they represent. I ask the readers to remember the fact that none of the aforementioned persons, including Misu Negritoiu, were able to contradict my statements published in the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI with proper arguments and in a logical way. I can also assure the public opinion that they will never be able to do this simply because everything I said was nothing but the truth. Faced with the truth, the people in question had no other alternative but to "demolish" my political and moral credibility. In the textbooks of logic, an area in which the aforementioned gentlemen show an irremediable lack of knowledge, this method is illustrated with the following example: "Two first-grade pupils are contradicting each other on how much is two and two; Gigel says it is four, and Ionel disagrees. Upset, and lacking any valid argument, Ionel concludes that two and two cannot be four simply because....Gigel has hazel eyes!!!" The logical infantilism shown by this example perfectly illustrates the reaction of these officials to my article in EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. They replied to my analysis, which I continue to consider more than convincing through its arguments, with a flood of invectives (traitor, agent of a foreign power, and so on) which have nothing to do with the subject matter.

However, without repeating myself too much, let us recall my intentions in writing my article. The material in question is structured on three major ideas: The first idea is connected with the extremely important role the mass media must play as a moral guide for the public opinion in any democratic society, and the mass media has the task of being a point of reference in the correct evaluation of the activity of the political system. The second idea, developed on the basis of the first one, is the illustration (through analyzing the "Misu Negritoiu case") of a political situation that brings the current Romanian leadership into an acute conflict between what it declares and what it actually does, and the first aspect of this conflict has a political nature, because the current government contains at least 10 persons, from the position of state secretary upward (and I do not have the complete list of the governmental and presidential apparatus), who were either officers or collaborators, with a long presence on the payrolls of the Securitate; the second aspect of this conflict is reflected in the fact that, officially, the dignitaries in question did not make their biographies public. Some of them not only tried to elude the truth also from the Parliamentary Commission, but also tried to simply fabricate new biographies, in Ceausescu's style; again, Mr. Misu Negritoiu's "case" was evident for this analysis.

Measures Adopted To Continue Economic Reform

AU2801095193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0812 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/1/1993—The Government of Romania adopted in its Wednesday, 27 January sitting a statement expressing this country's position to the flagrant violations of the embargo against Yugoslavia by ships under Yugoslav banner, which forced their way through the Romanian territorial waters of the Danube river.

In the same meeting, the executive debated a number of documents meant to relaunch the economic reform and the privatization process, such as: A report on the institutional structures and the measures necessary for stepping up the restructuring and privatization process as set forth in the program drawn up by the Council for Economic Coordination, Strategy and Reform; the 1993 privatization schedule of the state property fund; the report on privatization by sales of majority share-packages to employees and the managerial staff, drawn up by the National Agency for Privatization (ANP).

The government tackled 21 draft laws to be submitted to Parliament. They cover, among others: The status of public servants, the structures and operation of the Romanian Radio Corporation and of the Romanian Television Corporation; the administration and management of state monopolies; the instatement of the accreditation methodology for higher education institutions and the acknowledgement of graduation certificates at national level, and so on. In the same sitting, the government adopted a draft for the enforcement of the value-added tax (VAT) with commencement from 1 July 1993. The government discussed also the drafts on excises and taxes levied on home production of crude and natural gas and the draft on amendments to profit tax regulations and measures to stimulate exports.

The government approved a number of draft resolutions. One of them covers bakery wheat imports over 1 January-31 July 1993. The prime minister ordered that the ministry of food and agriculture detect wheat availabilities on the Romanian private market for purchase.

The government approved the nonrefundable financial aid in the worth of $10 million granted by the United States for the development of the private farming sector. The cabinet adopted measures for the investment project of the Radio Broadcasting Company building to be carried out.

New elections were settled for 28 March 1993 in localities where mayorship is vacant.

Crime Situation 'Alarming,' Says Minister

93BA0451A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with General George Ioan Danescu, minister of the interior, by Petre Mihai Bacanu; place and date not given: "I Am Not Afraid of My Past, Present, or Future"]

[Text] [Bacanu] Minister, is there anything for which you blame yourself?

[Danescu] I see that you are going to be tough with me, Mr. Bacanu. I don't believe there is anyone who in all honesty does not have something to blame himself for having done or not done. For myself, I can say that in all my life and professional activity, I have sought to act so that I will not be ashamed of anything over the years. I can say with certainty that I never wanted to intentionally cause any harm to anyone.

[Bacanu] You became minister of interior three weeks ago. Have you done anything against corruption?

[Danescu] I called the chief of police, and based on figures and data, I concluded that given the magnitude of the situation, we have reasons to be dissatisfied. We also discussed the problem in the management collective of the Ministry of the Interior. I have ordered that the existing data and information—including press reports—be processed rapidly, and that the files under penal investigation be forwarded to the prosecutor's office. At the same time, I intend to meet with the leadership of the Financial Guard, the Veterinary Health Police, and the Government Control Organization. I feel that some results are becoming apparent: Within the last two weeks alone, for instance, the police have uncovered 130 instances of corruption.

[Bacanu] Could corruption also exist within the Ministry of the Interior?

[Danescu] Yes, indeed, and in fact it did exist. I am, however, determined to be merciless toward all those who allow themselves to be tempted by dishonestly obtained, immediate profits. If we don't fight to clean up our own organization, we do not have the moral and professional credibility to act against this destructive situation in society. During the past two weeks, I personally dismissed six ministry officers, and others will follow if needed; I'm only starting.

[Bacanu] Violence has also escalated beyond any limits. Everyone expects something from the police. What can be done?

[Danescu] You are right, this cannot continue! The growth of infractions of great social danger—murder, robbery, rape—is truly alarming. But I could also make some arguments in our own defense; by that I mean our inadequate equipment and the light sentences stipulated for some penal infractions. That is reality, and I'm not hiding behind words. There is also the general situation of our society, the primitive mentality of some people, the poor education, and the poorly understood democracy, all of which have contributed to the escalation of violence. In any case, much more needs to be done to stop the phenomenon, and not only by the police. All of us in the ministry (police, rural police, border guards, the border police) must combine our efforts. It is not possible for the figures to reach 77,451 (+ 371) for judiciary matters, 751 (+ 32) for murders, 3702 (+ 120) for robbery, and so on. I have spoken with colonel Ion Pitulescu of the IGP [expansion unknown] Judiciary Police, who expressed his deep concern with the magnitude of the situation. There are those who have sought to filter it through rose-colored glasses in the sense that we are doing better than other countries; but the reality is that the situation has definitely become alarming.

[Bacanu] Everyone is stealing. There is no question that the peasant who steals three ears of corn must also be punished, but it seems to me that more attention should be given to those who have profited from their functions.

[Danescu] Corruption must be eradicated from the top, and its effects will be immediately felt down to the bottom. We must establish order, and I believe we are on the right path. Here is one example: There is the case of Mariana-Cristina Tincu, government consultant at the Department for Reform Strategy and Economic Integration, who between April 1991 and July 1992, taking advantage of her position and of the public's gullibility, promised ten people that she would help them obtain apartments in the center of Bucharest. In exchange for these "sold illusions" she obtained $80,000 and 850,000 lei. She is being investigated under preventive arrest; and she is not an isolated case. We will discuss this further. I think that we can show increasingly well that some people have transformed their official positions into fiefdoms.

[Bacanu] The press has asked you many embarrassing questions. Do you want to answer them without reservations? First of all, please be assured that you're under no obligation to do it.

[Danescu] I will answer for the simple reason that for me there are no embarrassing questions, since I have nothing to hide and that I am not afraid of my past, present, or future. Specifically, I think you mean the questions asked by your paper on 21 November, and in one form or another, by two or three other publications. Concisely and truthfully, the answer to all of them is "no." But I will not simply gloss over the answer, and will offer some supporting arguments. Do you think that if my brother had performed the deed—an attempt at illegal border crossing—and considering the circumstances of that time, I would still be in the ministry?! I would have certainly been dismissed and might find myself today in the position of "the accused" rather than minister. Or in the "Hanul Paulesti" case, in which I am said to be implicated: In reality, this is a joint Romanian-German commercial company for which a penal file has been opened for several infractions. So I ask: Where am I implicated? Moreover, regarding the cases of the Adrian, Pompilia, and Tedi companies, in whose activities I am supposed to have participated or on whose behalf I would have acted to prevent sanctions for their illegal actions: In the first place, I have no connection whatsoever with these companies, either directly or through intermediaries. During this first year alone, agencies of the administration, the Financial Guard, or the Economic Police have performed eight audits of the first two companies, and have imposed fines of more than 350,000 lei for the irregularities they have found. This is my "help." In fact, as far as I know, the Tedi company ceased to exist in January. I have not involved myself in any sort of deal, neither in gold nor in influence, and my brother, like me, is a man who respects the law in all he does. It must be understood once and for all—even by my "friends"—that I am honest, I live from my salary, and I will die poor. I am an ordinary person, but I have imposed some limits on myself that I never exceed.

[Bacanu] Why were you transferred from Ploesti to Constanta?

[Danescu] What I can tell you is that I was not demoted as a result of this transfer—which was not a disciplinary measure—insofar as I held the same position in Constanta as in Ploesti. Let's also not forget that the famous principle of "staff rotation" from one location to another was in force at that time, often without any real reason. Between 1985 and 1989, 1,694 of the militia staff were "rotated." In my case, I suspect the "reason" was that my activities were "disturbing" some highly placed persons—and not only in the county—in that I was tangling up some arrangements of which there was no shortage even then. They found a solution. And I, through my views and actions proved to be irritating to those who were not "clean." I came back to Ploesti following repeated personal reports and letters sent to

Bucharest by my wife, my mother, and my mother-in-law as a result of my rather difficult family situation: sick parents, three children, and so on. Those are the facts, whether people like them or not.

[Bacanu] There have been comments, particularly in the press, about your partiality to the presidency and leftist parties...

[Danescu] Much is being written, of course, due to the freedom of the press. What I can say, is that I belong to no party—and in fact I would not have the right to—and that I do not participate in party politics. My politics, the politics of the ministry I lead, are national ones—to see to it that the rights and liberties of the people, their lives, and property are protected. To this end, I will talk in equal terms with the leaders or notables of the entire political spectrum—left, center, right, and so on—without giving rise to the belief that I am advancing any doctrine or the policy of any party. I might add that if at one time or another I am seen discussing with a politician or participating in an activity where he is present, in no way means that I share that person's convictions or ideas. At the same time, through my training, professional position, and function I have the legal obligation—independently of likes or dislikes—to protect, along with my subordinates, the fundamental institutions of the state: Parliament, the presidency, and the government. And we will do it should the need arise; let us hope that we will not have to. And one more thing with respect to the presidency: Don't forget that in December 1991, when I was replaced, no one defended me.

[Bacanu] It will be three years since the Revolution. Has the Ministry of the Interior succeeded in clarifying what happened at that time?

[Danescu] I consider that it has. And I say that with several points in mind. On its own initiative and at the request of the parliamentary commission studying the events of December 1989, our ministry has produced reports about that period, with data and facts that fall under its jurisdiction. Moreover, many on the staff were interviewed or worked together with the military prosecutor to clarify events with which they were familiar. We too, are interested in more information, especially since among the ministry's ranks—and this should not be overlooked—there were dozens of victims killed or wounded, some of them dying under unimaginable tortures. All I know is that independently of the situation in each case, they should have been judged, condemned if appropriate, but not killed on the job, at home, at their office, or in the street. Where would we be if in this country everyone were to make his own law independently of the situation?! I might add that appropriate measures were taken in the ministry against those who during that period exceeded or violated their functions, or who committed acts incompatible with their military status. For instance, during 1990 alone, 440 officers and noncommissioned officers of the former militia, who behaved in an abusive manner or compromised the ministry, were discharged. In fact, this action continued during 1991. It is very important that we cleaned our own organization, and we will do it every time it will be necessary. For instance, Captain T.A. of Mures county, known to have behaved abusively in the past, struck several young people at the headquarters of the former militia, causing them bodily harm; for that reason, he was discharged and referred to the legal authorities. Major B.V. of Timis county, behaved in an improper manner during that same period, proving to be dishonest; he was also removed from the organization for these actions. The examples could continue: Major E.S. of Alba county, was discharged because against a background of poor training and education, he was more concerned with solving personal problems, became part of a group of wheeler-dealers, demonstrating a lack of interest and superficial performance in fulfilling his professional tasks; the people of Alba knew him and had disparaging things to say about him. The same steps were taken against Lieutenant M.V. of Bucharest, who stole documents from the office, established relations with foreigners whom, together with a noncommissioned officer, he helped evade legal provisions.

[Bacanu] What is your opinion of the revolutionary certificates issued to militiamen?

[Danescu] I suspect that your question is prompted by the press debates on this subject following the recent conference of the National League of Revolutionary Fighters. As far as I know, the Revolution Fighter Certificates were awarded by a parliamentary commission that undoubtedly analyzed each case and decided on the basis of certain criteria. I won't comment on their decisions and I don't meddle in the affairs of that commission. But just as an opinion, I consider that the "militia men"—as you call them—and workers at the ministry in general, are not the ones most entitled to this right. Why? Because if these people did not fire upon or strike the population during the December Revolution—but on the contrary, went to its aid—they acted in accordance with conscience and fulfilled their duty. And in fact, that was how the tens of thousand military and other personnel on duty at our ministry acted at that time. The true fighters were the hundreds of thousand civilians who went out into the street with their bare hands to gain their freedom. On the other hand, there is no harm in a little modesty, restraint, and decency, especially when you are asking for your rights, whether they are deserved or not. For instance, to be totally frank, I was rather unpleasantly impressed by some of the statements of a ministry officer, who in an interview published last week in a major daily paper, no more no less said that "if I was awarded the title of revolutionary fighter, I consider that I deserve it." My opinion is clear in that respect: It is inappropriate. As long as I was in the police, this idea of becoming a documented revolutionary by any possible means, did not exist. I am surprised by the trend that has been created recently. I don't believe that a general, for instance, who takes credit under unclear conditions, should have such a

certificate, and I repeat, if he has done his duty as dictated by his obligation as a soldier, as a man. The credit unquestionably belongs to those who risked their lives, and to their successors if they paid that price. In December 1989 I cooperated with the Army in Ploesti so that no blood would be uselessly spilled. When it became necessary, we even stepped back in order to avoid bloody clashes. That is what my conscience dictated.

[Bacanu] You obviously only "caught" the September miners' demonstration. You were the head of the IGP at that time. How was the IGP involved?

[Danescu] At the time of those dramatic events, the police participated together with the other forces of the ministry to protect the fundamental institutions of the state and some objectives of national interest. All the actions during that period were coordinated by the former General Staff of the ministry. Under these conditions I did not, nor could take any decision by myself. Therefore, the accusations that I ordered the police to withdraw from the Chamber of Deputies building—an objective whose protection did not fall under its jurisdiction—are totally unfounded. Because if that had been the case, I expect we would not be holding this conversation today. In my view, matters are clear and only ill-intentioned people can contend something that is obviously not true.

[Bacanu] Will it ever be known how Andrei Frumusanu and Aurelia Crainaceanu died?

[Danescu] You have opened a truly painful subject: the death of two young people, who actually were three. By that I mean the death of the rural policeman—now postmortem Second Lieutenant—Lazar Nicolae. Painful and sad, as well, because here was a dramatic situation in which brothers in the same nation fought and killed each other. That is why our joint interest is to find out who are the authors of those deeds, so that they will be punished for what they have done. The files are at the Bucharest military prosecutor's office, which has legal jurisdiction to solve the cases. As far as I know, extensive activity is being carried out to establish who is guilty.

[Bacanu] Do you think that another miners' demonstration is possible?

[Danescu] It is difficult to be a prophet, even in your own country. I know that there is discontent and hardship, that the standard of living has dropped, and that the majority of the population is faced with problems of daily life that are not exactly easy. Another "miners' demonstration" would not solve any of it. I think that the people have understood a great deal from the last demonstration and that the events will not repeat themselves. It would be a pity. We would all suffer.

Karadzic Views Geneva Peace Plan

AU2601145293 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Jan 93 pp 122-124

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, by Renate Flottau and Olaf Ihlau in Pale; date not given: "Everyone Hates Everyone Else"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Karadzic, the new U.S. President, Bill Clinton, would like to see you and Serbian President Milosevic tried at an international tribunal on war criminals.

[Karadzic] Clinton has said that if Milosevic is a war criminal he must be sentenced. He does not confirm this suspicion. Milosevic was elected, and all his decisions are official—as are my decisions.

[DER SPIEGEL] The U.S. State Department has just published a document in which the Serbs are accused of having committed worse atrocities than the Nazis.

[Karadzic] When the Muslim Izetbegovic started the war in Bosnia, I gave strict orders to all commanders to respect human rights. We know that some Serbs have committed criminal acts. They will be sentenced. But what the Muslims are currently doing to the Serbs in the center of Sarajevo is much worse....

[DER SPIEGEL] For instance?

[Karadzic] They rape, harass, pillage; Serbs are not permitted to leave Sarajevo, and the situation is similar in other cities. The Serbs are hostages there. We have never encouraged Muslims or Croats to flee. It is their decision. They are going to Germany to get money.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you trying to make us believe that all the refugees left their home country without pressure?

[Karadzic] There may have been fear, but there was no pressure on our part. They all left voluntarily.

[DER SPIEGEL] But you deliberately used rape and ethnic cleansing as weapons.

[Karadzic] That is absolutely wrong. No one has any evidence that this is so. There has been no systematic rape. If you know our generals, you know that with their communist education they are basically conservative. They strictly insisted on the observance of morals and ethics. The psychopaths who raped women were exceptions. If they had been caught they would have been punished.

[DER SPIEGEL] And the special camps for women, the compulsory brothels, did not exist either?

[Karadzic] I bet that not a single woman has been in a Serbian prison. Do not forget that 400,000 Serbs have had to leave their home country too. No one asks why. I am happy if these Serbs can escape, because the choice in this war has often been to be an ethnic hostage or an ethnic refugee. The latter is better in any case.

[DER SPIEGEL] You said once that Sarajevo will always be your city. What are you feeling today when you look at Sarajevo, which has been bombarded to ruins by the Serbs?

[Karadzic] .... and at Sarajevo, which has been bombarded by the Muslims. Whenever the Serbs did not shell the city, the Muslims did, to stage a media event.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your self-appointed parliament agreed to the Geneva peace plan in principle. Does this mean that the Bosnian Serbs have dropped their claim to a separate state?

[Karadzic] Not totally. Of course, it would have been the best thing for us to have an independent state and to live in a federation of Serbian states—similar to the Russian Federation. The international community has forced us to keep to Bosnia-Hercegovina's external borders. But this artificial state, which was created by the communists, cannot survive in the long term.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Geneva agreement does not mention the right to self-determination for the Bosnian Serbs.

[Karadzic] It is the right of all nations, and we will make use of it when the time comes to do so. Currently, the international community is opposed to it. It intends to mix a new nation from Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. We are going to accept the offer nevertheless—maximum autonomy, protection of our cultural, political, and economic identity.

[DER SPIEGEL] You were having problems in getting your parliament to accept it. Did you misjudge the mood at the grassroots, or are you even considered a soft character by more radical extremists in your ranks?

[Karadzic] I knew already in Geneva that it would be tough—even regarding the moderate Serbs, because we have currently more territory than we are permitted to have under the compromise formula. In addition, we now have our own state, which is not recognized—granted—but functions.

[DER SPIEGEL] Now you can at least say in Geneva that you cannot be expected to do more.

[Karadzic] That is correct. Originally, I only imagined it would get a slim majority, but in the end, there was a clear yes. However, the Serbs will in the future not accept any more ultimata, above all as far as the most delicate part of the Geneva agreement is concerned—the territorial subdivision among the three Bosnian peoples. If borders are imposed upon us by arbitration, I am pessimistic.

[DER SPIEGEL] But you certainly cannot expect everything to be settled according to the Serbs' wishes on this point as well.

[Karadzic] The subdivision of the territories in the former Yugoslavia was also arbitrary, created by the

communists. In the final analysis, it was the reason for the war. If Yugoslavia had been organized according to ethnic principles, it could have disintegrated without a single drop of blood being shed, just as in the former CSFR. We certainly cannot force peoples to be closer to one another than they really wish to be.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you basically agree to the plan to subdivide Bosnia into 10 provinces?

[Karadzic] We demand that the individual nations in Bosnia decide themselves as to how their provinces should be formed.

[DER SPIEGEL] For this purpose, the 1.5 million refugees would, however, first have to return to their homes. After all that has happened, this is probably an illusion.

[Karadzic] I am sure that some of them will come back.z Germany had a civil war at one time that lasted 30 years. At that time, many people were killed, too.

[DER SPIEGEL] We are finding it hard to understand you. On the one hand, you say that the refugees can come back; on the other, you claim that they can no longer live with one another. Do you intend to carry out ethnic cleansing again?

[Karadzic] It would certainly have been better to subdivide the territory clearly into three parts.

[DER SPIEGEL] That was suggested at the EC conference in Brussels, but failed because of your opposition to a Bosnian Central Government.

[Karadzic] The Serbs and Croats would have accepted a confederation of three constituent states and a weak central government. But Muslim leader Izetbegovic promptly turned 180 degrees on this the moment Bosnia-Hercegovina was internationally recognized.

[DER SPIEGEL] What you are getting now you could have had without the war. More than 100,000 people have had to die for it.

[Karadzic] It was the Muslims who never gave up the hope for a unitary Bosnia where they could rule over Serbs and Croats. That is what they still want today.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Geneva peace plan does not give you the requested northern corridor, which connects Serbia through Banja Luka in Bosnia with the Serbian Krajina in Croatia. A Croat province would block it.

[Karadzic] If we do not get the corridor, there will be another Nagorno-Karabakh as in the Caucasus. It would be the reason for another war.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you expecting concessions on the part of Croatia?

[Karadzic] Indeed. The Croats have realized what we want. Their leader, Mate Boban, and I are currently drafting an agreement.

[DER SPIEGEL] What does the ethnic picture of Bosnia-Hercegovina look like after your expulsion measures?

[Karadzic] There is a homogeneous population now. Ethnic cleansing has never formed part of our policy, but was an element of this war. Serbs also escaped from Muslim or Croat regions.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Serbs were definitely the ones who mainly expelled the people.

[Karadzic] This is a civil war in which everyone hates everyone else. It is the settlement of old accounts from World War II. At that time, Germany was the occupier, but the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims slaughtered each other. Today we are witnessing the revenge for those crimes.

[DER SPIEGEL] Despite all the diplomatic maneuvers—you would still prefer unification with Serbia, wouldn't you?

[Karadzic] If we had full freedom, we would have one administration. That does not have to be in a federation.

[DER SPIEGEL] This means that your readiness for compromise in Geneva is just a charade to buy time.

[Karadzic] No, at the moment we want to achieve what is realistic. If the territorial subdivision turns out to be just, we are ready to maintain Bosnia-Hercegovina as a unit. But we also need a break in this war, because the international community is unilaterally opposed to the Serbs. The Muslims and the Serbs, however, remain unmolested and thus see no reason to end the war.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does that surprise you? After all, the Muslims have had the largest territorial losses.

[Karadzic] We Serbs only took the settlement areas to which we are entitled. The Muslims control the regions to which they are entitled—the central triangle.

[DER SPIEGEL] How are the negotiations in Geneva to continue now?

[Karadzic] We must negotiate on the subdivision of the new provinces and, simultaneously, on a cease-fire agreement. The experts must examine how the borders should be defined, and, in doing so, should consider communications, infrastructure, and natural resources. Then the people living in the local districts should decide. That is true democracy.

[DER SPIEGEL] That is a process that would take years, and it is thus mere delaying tactics. The people must first be allowed to return to their local districts.

[Karadzic] The Catholic side has suggested that Bosnia should be subdivided between Croats and Serbs, and the Muslims should be given autonomous regions, because the Muslims are not a people, but a religious community. Tito invented the Muslim nation. They originated from the Serbs because the Orthodox Church was unable to

protect its faithful under Turkish occupation. The Vatican, however, protected the Catholics, meaning the Croats. That is why only a tiny number of Muslims are of Croatian origin.

[DER SPIEGEL] There are about 200,000 armed people in Bosnia- Hercegovina....

[Karadzic] ... Far more, at least 600,000.

[DER SPIEGEL] In addition, there are innumerable small groups, regional commanders, and warlords. In view of all this, can a peace agreement be implemented at all in the country?

[Karadzic] If the Geneva agreement were not to be just, there would be chaos, as there was in the first 45 days of the war. Then everyone would wildly fight everyone else.

[DER SPIEGEL] In your speech before the parliament, you spoke again of the danger of a third world war that could start from the Balkans. Why that?

[Karadzic] The interests of the European peoples have not changed. Germany continues to look to the East.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you not demonizing the Germans too much?

[Karadzic] Not at all. Germany lost World War II militarily, but won it economically and politically. It got all the satellite states it wanted—Slovenia, Croatia, the Croatian part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, probably also the Muslims. In addition, its spheres of influence include the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, the three Baltic Republics, probably also Albania. Germany is already dominant in Europe today.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do the Serbs therefore have to rely on their Slav brother, Russia?

[Karadzic] Do not worry, Russia will certainly come forward. There is no doubt about that.

[DER SPIEGEL] But Russia's Foreign Minister Kozyrev would even be ready to support a limited intervention by the West in Bosnia.

[Karadzic] Kozyrev is no general. The war can very quickly turn into a conflagration in the Balkans. Then Turkey would also intervene because it has increasing ambitions to play an important role in Europe.

[DER SPIEGEL] Together with Turkey, other Islamic states, too, do not want to keep to the UN embargo any longer and want to support the Bosnian Muslims in a more committed way.

[Karadzic] The Islamic states are now vying to give the Bosnian Muslims verbal support. A real war would only be a European war, the clash of old European interests. Everything else is just operetta.

[DER SPIEGEL] Even though you have shown compromise readiness, the danger continues to exist that the peace process is breaking down, and increased sanctions, possibly even military intervention in the Balkans, must be expected.

[Karadzic] Intervention does not bring a solution, nor does a flight ban. Our fighter aircraft were operating six months before the relevant UN resolution was adopted....

[DER SPIEGEL] ... and they attacked what they wanted to attack.

[Karadzic] Yes, we hit what had to be hit—but it was not that much. Air raids against us would be insignificant. No one will hit our troops.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Karadzic, we thank you for this interview.

HVO Assails 'Extremist' Attacks on Busovaca

LD2601222793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] We have just received a statement for the public issued by the Defense Department of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna. The statement says among other things:

As soon as we started to think that clashes between HVO members and extremist parts of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army were easing in Gornji Vakuf, some units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army led by extremist commanders launched attacks on Busovaca. These are, without any doubt, commanders of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army who have a precisely determined role to create a rift between Croat and Muslim people, a role assigned to them by their previous and also their current superiors, the counterintelligence service of the former Yugoslav People's Army and now the [Bosnian] Serb army.

How else are we to explain their decision to leave combat lines which these units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army were holding against the chetniks, and to join attacks on Croat settlements and HVO units in Gornji Vakuf and, from yesterday, in Busovaca.

These are not incidents done by extremist individuals, but are well-planned actions orchestrated by high-ranking officers in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. We have a military map where directions for Bosnia-Hercegovina Army attacks on HVO units and on the towns of Busovaca, Travnik, and Novi Travnik and villages in the area are worked out.

The HVO reiterates that it does not want conflicts with the Muslim people, but it will resolutely defend Croat villages and towns and people in these towns under attack, as well as all areas where its units are located, the statement concludes.

Croats Ask Muslims To Stop

AU2701181793 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 93 p 20

[HINA report: "Conclusions of the Croatian Defense Council"]

[Text] Zagreb—Following the events in central Bosnia, the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia held an emergency session on Saturday [23 January]. The statement issued at that session was read in the "Picture on Picture" program of the Croatian Television on Tuesday night [26 January].

We carry the full text of this statement:

"1. The Muslim people are asked to stop the activities of the extremist forces in their ranks, because further departure from the joint struggle will only help the Serbo-Chetnik aggressors. The Muslim people must not allow the attackers on the Croatian places and the units of the Croatian Defense Council to destroy the centuries-old cohabitation with their irrational acts, especially because the Croats and Muslims have never fought each other. The current course of the common struggle against the aggressor in Bosnia-Hercegovina confirms the existence of common aims and common destiny.

"2. We demand that the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina immediately order an end to all further combat activities of the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina against the Croatian people and the units of the Croatian Defense Council.

"3. We demand from the representatives of UNPROFOR, the EC, and the International Red Cross urgent and effective mediation that would protect civilian population and prevent fighting.

"4. The Defense Department of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia is charged to immediately take effective measures to protect the lives and property of the Croatian population and all other citizens on the territory of the Croatian community in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"5. The Department of Internal Affairs and the military policy of the Croatian Defense Council have been charged to completely stop the traffic on all roads in central Bosnia used for carrying men and technical equipment to the conflict area. The border police and the customs service must intensify checks of passengers and vehicles at all border crossings.

"6. The public at home and abroad must constantly be informed about the facts concerning current events in central Bosnia.

"7. The Croatian Government should be informed with the situation and, depending on the events, asked for appropriate support and help."

This was stated in a communique issued from the session of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, which was signed by its head Jadranko Prlic.

HVO Units Clash With Muslims Near Busovaca

LD2701131893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Text] According to the latest reports available to the main headquarters for the armed forces of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, fierce fighting is in progress in the Busovaca area. Muslim forces are attacking from several directions, especially from the directions of Zenica-Lasva-Busovaca and Visoko-Kakanj-Lasva-Busovaca. The Muslim forces are using all available artillery, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, and infantry weapons, accompanied by unprecedented brutality, destruction, plunder, rape, and massacres.

The report from Busovaca, which Dario Kordic, vice president of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, submitted to the main headquarters of the HVO armed forces at 1130, indicates that 39 members of HVO units were killed, 48 were wounded, and five Croatian villages were burned down. According to reports from the main headquarters of the HVO armed forces, a special Muslim brigade has joined the attack from the direction of Zenica. Mojahedin and members of the Green Legion are most ferocious in their crimes.

The attacks by Muslim units in central Bosnia are coordinated by high-ranking officers in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army: Vehbija Karic, Enver Hadzihasanovic, (Refik Lendo), and Dzevad Mehic. According to the same source, the Muslim forces are opening fire on UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] units as well.

The main headquarters of the HVO armed forces stresses that HVO members in Busovaca are offering majestic resistance and are repelling all attacks. HVO political and military experts believe that this is an extensive operation aimed at the destruction of the HVO in these areas and at driving Croats out of the region, accompanied by an unprecedented media campaign.

Izetbegovic, Boban Agree on Immediate Cease-Fire

LD2701182993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] In Geneva today, Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic and Mate Boban, president of the Herceg-Bosnia Croatian community, agreed on and signed a joint statement on an immediate cease-fire between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. The text of the statement reads:

1. We order an immediate end of hostilities between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the HVO. We call upon the Muslim people to demonstrate full cooperation because any clashes would only benefit the aggressor.

2. The commanders of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the HVO General Staff are required to immediately establish responsibility for conflicts at all levels and urgently form a joint command.

[dated] Geneva, 27 January 1993
[signed] Alija Izetbegovic and Mate Boban

Muslims, Croats Sign Cease-Fire

LD2701194093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Excerpts] A fresh attack by the Serb aggressor on Mostar took place this afternoon. Since 1700, around 20 destructive shells have landed on the very center of the town. This attack on Mostar was preceeded by powerful artillery attacks on Stolac, Dubrave, Bijelo Polje, and Potoci. Around 30 shells landed in the area of Bijelo Polje in a very short period of time, while Stolac was worst hit: 16 people sustained injuries. The artillery of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] returned fire shelling the Chetnik positions. There have been no fresh reports from Busovaca. [passage omitted]

Colonel Tihomir Blaskic, according to Dario Kordic's statement, signed an agreement with representatives of the Muslim forces on a cease-fire between the HVO and Muslim formations in Busovaca. While I was filing this report, confirmation of the cease-fire agreement came from Mr. Layn, a member of the European Community monitoring mission who stressed that the cease-fire is coming into force at 0100 tonight and that it will be overseen by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members.

The Busovaca clashes were the topic of a HVO session, which supported all actions by the HVO Defense Department while it also expressed concern over the fact that members of Muslim forces left their positions in fighting with chetniks and took up offensive positions ready to fight the HVO formations.

The HVO Defense Department addressed the pubic in Mostar on Mostar radio today calling on Muslim people and its leadership to display prudence. The public has also been warned that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army was joined by a number of Serbs with suspicious pasts.

Army 'Adequately' Responds to HVO Attacks

LD2701203693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Army responded adequately to frequent attacks by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] Busovaca unit. It routed a HVO unit in the Busovaca area.

'Ready To Negotiate With HVO'

LD2701203493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] There is no peace in central Bosnia. Fresh clashes were reported in Busovaca, Vitez, Travnik, Novi Travnik, and Kiseljak. On this occasion, the press center of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army has revealed that clashes were caused by a one-sided order of the so-called Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna on submission of Bosnia-Hercegovina Army units to Croat Defense Council [HVO] commands and disarming of members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army.

A statement of the press center explains that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army is ready to negotiate with the HVO About all important problems.

Likewise, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army clearly states that it will not allow that [words indistinct] battles for national interests, and that the tissue of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its main nation are destroyed. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Army will reply with force to any show of force, and will give a positive response to any desire for constructive negotiations.

HVO Official Sends Letter to Bosnian Army Chief

LD2701225093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina Army troops are preparing for the continuation of war operations against the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. The HVO reports also say that preparations to assassinate the majority of Croatian officials are under way in central Bosnia and Bosnia-Hercegovina as a whole.

Bruno Stojic, head of the HVO Defense Department, writes about these and other reports in his letter to Sefer Halilovic, chief of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, and adds: It is my duty to warn you about the destructive nature of such orientations and the consequences, which would spread to our troops and people irretrievably. Bosnia-Hercegovina Army attacks on the Busovaca municipality region, which demonstrated brutality over the Croatian population, are not only in contravention of the orders given by Presidents Boban and Izetbegovic, but they also shock and upset our people living there. The inclusion of Mojahedins from so-called Green Legions in these attacks and the redeployment of active soldiers from Visoko, Ilijas, Maglaj, Zavidovici, and Zenica are bad omens and we expect you, once again, to halt all these aggressive operations.

I expect you, as chief of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, to use your authority and prevent actions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army against the HVO and the Croatian people. It is our duty, yours and mine, to history, to our consciences, and to the Muslim and Croatian people, to halt current and any future

clashes because they directly serve aggressors and can only lead to our complete defeat, of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the HVO alike. It is my intention to draw attention in this way to the need to communicate with each other for one single purpose: to save human lives and property. On our part we are ready to execute the order of our supreme commander, Mr. Boban. We believe that you have both the motives and power to comply with the order of Mr. Izetbegovic and that we can both implement political decisions in the future—especially the ones that, I hope, will be adopted in Geneva, we read at the end of Bruno Stojic's letter to Sefer Halilovic.

Serb Success in 'Strong Counterattack' on Muslims

LD2701220193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2037 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Following today's attacks by Muslim forces on Rajlovac and Vogosca, Serb fighters moved defense lines 1 km deep into the territory of the Muslim territory in the Sokolje-Zabridje area in a strong counterattack, according to the SRNA news agency, which quotes a statement by the information centr of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Army of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina]. The intensity of the fighting, which lasted all day, subsided after 2000.

Following these successes, Serb fighters are consolidating positions on new defense lines, while Muslim units are occasionally opening fire on Serb positions from small arms.

The evening is quiet in the Vogosca area, SRNA reports.

Croatian Leader on Busovaca's 'Treacherous Truce'

LD2801000393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Report by Slvako Rako from Mostar]

[Excerpts] n attacks by Muslim forces on the formations of the Croatian Defense Council and Croatian villages in Central Bosnia over the past three days, 44 soldiers of the Croatian Defense Council and Croatian civilians were killed, while 82 others sustained injuries, Dario Kordic, deputy president of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia stated for Croatian Radio this evening in Busovaca. [passage omitted]

According to Dario Kordic, a treacherous truce began around 1800, which Muslim forces have used to regroup and to prepare fresh forces in Zenica to launch an attack on Busovaca in the dawn. A joint agreement between Mate Boban and Alija Izetbegovic that was signed in Geneva has reached Busovaca. [passage omitted]

HVO Chief Orders Halt to Attacks on Bosnian Army

LD2701235493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] On the basis of the joint statement of Mate Boban and Alija Izetbegovic on an immediate cease-fire between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], Brigadier Milivoje Petkovic, chief of the general staff of the HVO, has issued an order banning HVO units from attacking Bosnia-Hercegovina Army units and from encouraging conflicts between them. The order also specifies that all disagreements with Bosnia-Hercegovina Army units should be resolved through negotiations.

Croats To Support Humanitarian Aid Deliveries

LD2701204093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Dr. Jadranko Prlic, chairman of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, today informed Jose Maria Mendiluce, special envoy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, that the Croatian Defense Council is ready to secure all roads, including the possibility of constructing new roads or temporary roads, so that international humanitarian aid, provided that convoys are previously announced, is delivered to their recepients. We are aware that in this situation we have to do everything we can so that innocent people, irrespective of their nationality, do not suffer the consequences of the aggression.

Aid Convoys Blocked

AU2801093193 Paris AFP in English 0010 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 28 (AFP)—The central Bosnian town of Busovaca, where, according to Croat television, the civilian population is in a desperate situation, was cut off Wednesday [27 January] by heavy Moslem-Croat fighting, relief officials said.

While roads leading to Busovaca were opened by United Nations Protection Forces in the area, fighting between Moslem and Croat units prevented aid from reaching the population, according to Veso Vegar, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, in a communique received here by AFP, also said the town—50 kilometers (30 miles) northwest of Zagreb—was isolated Wednesday.

But in Geneva late Wednesday Bosnian Croat and Moslem leaders announced an agreement to end their clashes and to join forces against Bosnian Serbs.

Moslem-Croat confrontations in central Bosnia since Monday have killed 39 people and wounded 48, according to Croat sources.

The Croatian Defense Council, grouping Bosnian Croat military units, late Tuesday ordered a blockade on all roads in central Bosnia "to prevent troops and technical equipment from reaching the combat area," the HINA news agency reported.

Croat television described the situation in Busovaca as "dramatic" and said the town had been surrounded and shelled by some 8,000 Moslem troops.

'Chetniks' Shell Tuzla, Gradacac, Brcko

AU2801103993

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian on 28 January carries in its regular 15-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Reporting from Tuzla, Salih Brkic says that "even though the aggressor has continued his attacks on the defensive positions over the last 24 hours, the response of the defenders and particularly the brilliant operation by the sabotage group from Zivinice must have shown them once again that their evil plans will remain only wishful Chetnik thinking. The sabotage group consisting of the fighters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army from the region of Zivinice has produced extraordinary results. Three machinegun caches and one bunker have been destroyed, some 10 Chetniks have been killed and many more wounded. One (?M-84) machine gun, one of the infamous sowers of death, and five automatic guns have been captured, together with a considerable amount of ammunition and mines. Out of frustration, the Chetniks retaliated against Teocak by firing over 60 shells at the area from the direction of Peljave and Grujici. The Majevica Chetniks have not been quiet either. They shelled the Tuzla defensive positions from the direction of (?Micici). They also shelled the area around Banovici, particularly the defensive positions in (?Pujici) and Crnjevo. A little later, the outlaws from Vijenac used howitzers and mortars against the outskirts of Banovici."

Brcko Press Center reports that "last night was one of destruction and flames. Throughout the night the Chetniks used tanks and other heavy artillery to pound the outskirts and free territories of the Brcko commune. Licki Most, Klanac, Rijeke, Brodusa, Brod, Lipovac and Dubravice Donje were fired upon with mortars and recoilless guns. Over 70 tank shells landed on Dizdarusa, while Ulice was again exposed to Chetnik long-range artillery from the Chetnik cache in Pelagicevo. This morning has not brought any change. There are no infantry attacks, but violent explosions can be heard along the entire front line."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "the night saw continual enemy artillery barrages. The enemy shelled Liporasce, Begov Konak, (?Skorici), (Zelinja Srednja) and (?Medjedja Gornja). There were infantry clashes along the entire defense line. The morning brought no peace. The eastern and northeastern parts of the front are under fire from mortars and recoilless guns from the Chetnik strongholds in (?Duric) and (?Vis)."

In his report from Sarajevo, Irfan Calo says that "the four central districts are relatively quiet, while the aggressor is occasionally firing antiaircraft guns and machine guns at the outskirts of Stari Grad." He says that there is some "sporadic shelling of the outskirts of Novo Sarajevo."

The Vogosca Press Center reports that "the Chetniks are somewhat quieter this morning. Their artillery from Blagovac and Poljine is sporadically shelling civilian targets, while small arms fire can be heard from the direction of the front line."

24 Killed in Sarajevo

AU2801113493 Paris AFP in English 0925 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 29 (AFP)- A day of murderous shelling in Sarajevo Wednesday [27 January] left at least 24 dead and 94 wounded, hospitals and the morgue reported Thursday.

One of the dead was a pregnant woman who died on the operating table at the state hospital. Surgeons were unable to save her six-month foetus.

Fifteen of the dead were soldiers killed by mines, the morgue reported. The remainder were civilians, most killed by shrapnel.

Local Serbian forces entrenched on hills surrounding Sarajevo and in some parts of the valley-floor city bombarded the capital without stop Wednesday.

Their fire was answered by the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army.

The snow-covered city was relatively quiet after dawn broke Thursday, with little to be heard but the usual sniper fire and the occasional shell.

An agreement signed in Geneva Wednesday to halt fighting between Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army meanwhile appeared to be having some effect, Radio Sarajevo indicated early Thursday.

It said the main trouble spot—Gornji Vakuf—was quiet overnight, despite "tensions and conflicts" in some nearby towns.

The fighting in Gornji Vakuf between the erstwhile allies—formerly united against local Serbian forces—broke out January 11 after a dispute over command.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Croatian leader Mate Boban signed the agreement in Geneva to halt the fighting despite the apparent near-collapse of peace talks there on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Radio Sarajevo said the "tensions and conflicts" continued in the central Bosnian towns of Busovaca, Vitez, Kiseljak, Travnik, and Novi Travnik.

Some shelling was reported near the Drina River, separating Bosnia-Hercegovina from Serbia, where Bosnian and local Serbian forces have clashed in recent days.

Tudjman Warns Izetbegovic Over Muslim Aggression

LD2801140793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1241 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia on Thursday called Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic to halt "a brutal aggression" of Moslem extremists against Croatian-populated localities in central Bosnia to prevent the "utmost aggravation of Moslem-Croat relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

In his open letter to Izetbegovic, Tudjman stressed that relations between "the two states" could be deteriorated by continuing conflicts of Moslem and Croat Armed Forces.

Croatia recognized the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in its administrative boundaries despite the existence of the Serb Republic (R.S.) in Bosnia-Hercegovina (the R.S., republic formed by Serbs in areas with predominantly their population, following the Moslem-Croat Government's decision to break away from the former Yugoslavia). Since the outbreak of a civil, ethnic and religious war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croats and Moslems had been allies. But, a few weeks ago, they began to fight each other fiercely in central Bosnia, especially around the townlet of Gornji Vakuf.

Tudjman reminded Izetbegovic that 35 Bosnian Croats were killed in a Moslem assault on them outside the central Bosnian village of Busovaca. In this area, he said, Moslems burned down several Croatian villages, the incident that "has deeply shocked the leaders of Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina who sought help from Croatia."

Tudjman viewed that a cessation of hostilities between the Moslem and Croat forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina would enable Croats and Moslems "to close their ranks" again.

Tudjman wrote that a Croat-Moslem truce would be the minimum condition for Croatia's continued care for Bosnian Moslem refugees in its territory.

Cease-Fire Reported Holding in Central Bosnia

AU2801135093 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 28 (AFP)—A cease-fire in central Bosnia-Hercegovina between local Croatian forces and the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army appeared to be holding Thursday [28 January].

Sarajevo radio reported that Brigadier Milivoj Petkovic, the Croat commander, had issued an order forbidding his troops to attack the Bosnian Army soldiers.

The radio reported that Gornji Vakuf was quiet and said all civilians taken prisoner would be released Thursday and that military prisoners would be exchanged.

The cease-fire agreement between the erstwhile allies was reached in Geneva Wednesday by President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban.

Fighting centred on the town of Gornji Vakuf broke out January 11 after Defence Minister Bozo Raic, a Croat, ordered Bosnian army units in the area to place themselves under the command of the local Croatian forces, known as HVO [Croatian Defense Council], who are seeking to establish control of territory within Bosnia-Hercegovina and links with neighbouring Croatia.

Raic, who was appointed to the Moslem-dominated government in December, is based in Mostar, in the south, and has still not come to Sarajevo to take his oath of office.

Petkovic's order said HVO unit commanders should make contact with their opposite numbers in the Bosnian army to form joint commands.

A spokesman for the UN Protection Force, Major Juan Villalon, said one road in the area that had been closed—leading from Gornji Vakuf to Busovaca, then Vitez—had been reopened, and that the road from Gornji Vakuf to Prozor was open to armoured vehicles.

In Sarajevo Wednesday, UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata said aid convoys were unable to reach 600,000 to 700,000 people in the area.

In Sarajevo, meanwhile, heavy arms fire between Bosnian army troops and local Serbs at Sokolje, on a mountain near the airport, left seven civilians dead Thursday, including a nine-year-old girl who died as she was riding on her sled, her face and body hammered by shrapnel. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Appeals to Izetbegovic To Halt Attacks

LD2701230093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] We have just received from HINA [Croatian news agency] a letter which President Franjo Tudjman sent to Alija Izetbegovic. It reads as follows:

Mr. President: Regrettable events happening these days, during which Muslim extremists in central Bosnia are attacking Croat settlements and firing on civilians and defenders in an organized, criminal, and brutal fashion, compel me to write to you.

Last night, as you certainly know very well, 35 soldiers of the Croat Defence Council died defending their villages in the Busovaca area from Muslim units, which also set ablaze several villages. This event shook the leadership of the Croat people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who have asked Croatia and the international community for help.

Thus, in my deep concern, I appeal to you to halt that brutal aggression because it could completely exacerbate relations between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who were joined in the struggle against the common enemy in your republic in the past few months. It will, unless stopped, also exacerbate relations between our two states and completely block humanitarian aid corridors on which many lives in Bosnia-Hercegovina depend.

Citizens of Croatia wonder whether the aggression against the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina is a reply to all the good things that Croatia has been doing for your compatriots: in the protection and provision for half a million refugees; in the organization, transport and supply of sizeable humanitarian aid; in enabling many state institutions of Bosnia-Hercegovina to function in Croatian towns; in overall support for the defense against the Serb aggressor; and in encouragement for seeking a just solution for the final organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the restoration of peace as soon as possible, within the Geneva conference.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to directly call on the Croatian and Muslim nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina to halt all internal hostilities, fully cooperate in the defense against their common enemy, and seek solutions for coexistence in harmony as equal legal and constituent nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I hope that your urgent and energetic order to the Muslim forces to halt the aggression against the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina will enable the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina to unite forces in defense against the Serbo-Montenegrin and Yugo-communist aggressors.

At the same time this represents a minimum condition for ensuring that the Croatian public remain ready to provide further care for refugees and to offer overall aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina while coping with enormous self-sacrifice.

Russian Deputy Minister Churkin Arrives for Visit

LD2701132193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin has arrived in Zagreb. Following his arrival, he said Russia had not suggested that sanctions be applied, but that one should return to the negotiating table and the implementation of the UN Security Council's earlier resolution. Commenting on the participation of Russian volunteers on the side of Serbian formations in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, Churkin expressed the Russian Government's deep regret and stressed that such cases are being investigated very seriously. In reply to media reports that Russia supports the Serbian side in the former Yugoslavia, Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin says that his country sides with those who are trying to achieve peace in the former Yugoslavia. The deputy foreign minister will be received in Zagreb by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Holds Talks With Tudjman

LD2701153893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Excerpts] On his arrival in Zagreb this morning, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin said that Russia does not suggest that sanctions against Croatia should be introduced. [passage omitted]

Churkin was received today by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Following the meeting, he held a news conference, from which Andjelko Pernicic sent us this report:

[Perincic] Following his talks with President Tudjman, Vitaliy Churkin held a news conference, at which he assessed the meeting as very important. During the talks, there were no misunderstandings regarding our policy, Churkin said. On the other hand, we wanted to find out about Croatia's stands on the peace negotiations in Geneva. Later on he denied that the situation in former Yugoslavia is similar or identical with a possible final denouement of relations between former Soviet republics. The fact is that there are forces in Russia which do not approve of the present policy. Nevertheless, our stand about the crisis in former Yugoslavia is not influenced by nationalist pressures, because nationalists do not hold much sway over us.

On the other hand, Churkin went on to say, I do not believe it is necessary to introduce sanctions against Croatia, because that would harm not only Croatia but the entire peace process in former Yugoslavia. Moreover, we advocate that the current sanctions should be eased, because we believe that sanctions do not contribute to a solution.

Furthermore, Churkin then said, military operations undertaken in Croatia recently also do not contribute to a peaceful political solution, and as such they are not

helping Croatia's interests. Croatia is interested in seeing that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is normalized, and hence its dangerous action could be counterproductive for your interests. Thus, I am very concerned for the continuation of the process of normalization of relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia, the process which started well.

I believe that talks with President Tudjman were good and constructive, and it should be hoped that they will contribute to the restoration of trust and normalization among all sides involved in the process of solving the crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia, above all through political negotiations.

Prompted by journalists, Churkin said he is aware of shortcomings in the Vance plan on how to implement UN resolutions in Croatia. Talking specifically about the action of Croatian units in northern Dalmatia, he noted that the plan with all its shortcomings cannot provide an excuse for a military action. Taking into account a journalist's remark that the action was carried out on the territory of the sovereign, internationally recognized Republic of Croatia, Churkin did not dispute the fact but he recalled that many UN resolutions and the Vance plan have been adopted and provided the basis on which it would be possible to reach a peaceful solution.

He added that actions of Croatian units endangered the UN Protection Force stationed in the area of operations. This means that concern should be expressed not only over the attempt to resolve the problem by extreme measures, but also because UN activity, that is, those who execute UN documents, is put into jeopardy, Churkin said.

More on Churkin-Tudjman Talks

LD2701181493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Croatian President Dr Franjo Tudjman today received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. Their talks focused on the situation in the Maslenica region and events in Bosnia-Hercegovina. After Churkin had expressed his concern regarding the Maslenica situation, President Tudjman informed his high-ranking guest the action to secure the construction site of Maslenica bridge and Zemunik airport has been completed. This, he said, is of vital importance for 700,000 citizens of southern Croatia and 200,000 refugees, who were cut off from northern Croatia.

Having reiterated that UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, the cochairmen of the Geneva conference, and the Serbian leadership were all informed about the action, President Tudjman particularly stressed that Croatia will further urge peaceful resolution of the crisis and the normalization of Croat-Serbian relations in order to fully implement the Vance plan, with assistance from the UN Protection Force.

President Tudjman appealed to the Russian Federation to use all its influence over Serbia so that Belgrade will accept a political solution of the crisis and the implementation of the Vance plan and will recognize the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia.

Speaking about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr Tudjman informed the Russian deputy foreign minister about the intensified attacks by Muslim extremists on the Croat people over the past three days. He stressed that Croatia urges a political solution of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and is naturally interested in the future of the neighboring state.

Deputy Minister Churkin said that the Russian Federation has been investing great efforts to spur Serbia's leadership toward constructive negotiations at the Geneva peace conference and has condemned the presence and involvement of Russian volunteers on the side of Bosnian Serbs in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and interviews by Russian generals for Montenegrin television.

Commentary Views Meeting

LD2701234493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Commentary by Andjelko Perincic]

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin in Zagreb today. The Russian guest had talks with the host, as he stated at a news conference later, about the Geneva negotiations as a peaceful political way to solve the crisis in former Yugoslavia and some Russian stands regarding this problem. They also spoke about the situation in Russia. Andjelko Perincic commentary:

According to Churkin, he informed President Tudjman about the political balance of forces in Russia. He stressed that Orthodox, nationalist, and Bolshevik forces are not that strong and do not represent a danger for the present Russian policy. Therefore, Churkin rejected a thesis that Russia, because of these forces, has been supporting the aggressive Serbian policy in finding a solution for the crisis in former Yugoslavia. On the contrary, Churkin said: Russia is not urging the introduction of sanctions against Croatia, it is for easing the sanctions. He did not mention whose sanctions should be eased, but it is completely obvious to whom this refers.

Russia, Mr. Churkin also said, deems that the UN resolution, the Vance plan for settlement of the crisis in Croatia, and the Vance-Owen plan for the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, are a good political framework for the resolution of the main points of the crisis. Therefore he called on all sides to refrain from all military actions and reach peace through negotiations. In this context, he did not approve of the Croatian Army action in the Zadar hinterland, because, Mr. Churkin

said, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] deployed there and the implementation of political documents have been threatened.

Although these documents are not perfect, he added, the way to correct them is not through a military action, but through a proposal to the UN for the correction of the faults in them. With such a way of thinking, Mr. Churkin gave us a reason to analyze the Russian stand. First, we should recall that there have been no proofs saying that Croatia is in favor of war, before all political means have been exhausted. Peacemaking, let us speak in general terms, has been expressed by Serbs only recently, after they had seized through war what they could. Cosic, Milosevic, and Karadzic have vociferously been stating in Geneva upon their arrival in Palace of Nations that they are coming for peace. Now the Russian diplomacy has joined them, which can be indicative. The very same diplomacy did not urge peace more than a year ago when Vukovar and Dubrovnik were bombarded, or nine months ago when Sarajevo's Bascarsija was razed to the ground.

Karadzic stated in Geneva that he is not going to boycott the peace negotiations despite, as he said, the Croatian aggression against what he calls the Republic of Serb Krajina. Neither does the Russian diplomacy now wish to give up the diplomatic solution, although it holds that the Croatian military actions can only aggravate the conditions for negotiations and even harm Croatia in the process of negotiations.

The question is whether Mr. Churkin and the Russian diplomacy do not know or have forgotten that Croatia has through a series of diplomatic initiatives, including proposals contained in a letter from President Tudjman to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, and in the field through the European Community monitors and UNPROFOR, given initiative for the peaceful settlement of numerous problems including Maslenica bridge.

In conclusion, a question: Are these similarities between the Serb and Russian stands only accidental? Is it accidental that Churkin slipped several times when speaking about Yugoslavia, only to correct himself straight away saying former Yugoslavia. Is it accidental that he compared the present Maslenica crisis with the war waged by the then Yugoslav People's Army against Croatia, which he had to correct later. According to all the aforementioned, Russian stands are not close to Croatia's but apparently not to many other in the world.

Commentary Urges Normal Relations With Serbia

AU2601130893 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 93 p 2

[Commentary by Mate Piskor: "Reality and—Necessity"]

[Text] Although many people do not agree with the saying that history is the teacher of life, this ancient Roman proverb, however, must be taken into account; and particularly by those who aspire to create state policy, and those who criticize everything that the former decide.

The Scandinavian countries Sweden and Norway have set a model of good neighborly relations, mutual respect, support, cooperation, joint guidelines, and the utilization of joint resources to accomplish mutual interests. This is the situation today. But, at a time when they were parts of one country, these two were engaged in a horrible war, hatred ruled everywhere, and antagonism was the only form of mutual relations. This is one illustration. The second one—and perhaps we are more familiar with it—should be sought in the heart of Europe. The two crucial countries of the EC, Germany and France, have been at war four times in the last 200 years, and their relationship was usually described as that of cat and dog. Today these two countries cooperate splendidly, relations are at a very high level, and they have been even forming joint Franco-German army units designed for urgent intervention.

What do both of these examples have in common? It is really astonishing what mutual interests can work out, or in other words, what the aftermath is when a country, or a nation, is cured of its beliefs in "its racial superiority," Bonapartism, or its aspirations to rule other countries, all of Europe, or even the whole world.

To the direct question if Croatia has abandoned its alliance with the Muslims, and is making overtures to Serbia and Serbs, which can be easily deduced from attempts of the Croatian side to normalize relations and accomplish mutual recognition, the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said that Croatia has always supported, and will always support, the alliance with the Muslims, but everyone has to realize that permanent peace and the normalization of interstate relations in the Balkans cannot be achieved without a certain "Scandinavization" of the Balkans. That is to say, until the two key states—Serbia and Croatia—restore relations.

Serbia, infected with the virus of the Greater Serbia, attacked Croatia with the aim of creating some sort of "Serboslavia" or "Greater Serbia," with its western borders drawn from Virovitica via Karlovac to Karlobag. Serbia also attacked Bosnia-Hercegovina through imperialistic aspirations, and tomorrow, if the world does not prevent it, it will send its troops to the south, to Kosovo and Macedonia. The logical question arising from all this is: Should we discuss the normalization of relations with Serbia at all?

Croatia, however, needs this normalization, and there are several reasons for this. If Serbia recognizes Croatia, then it will recognize Croatia's internationally recognized borders, meaning that it will publicly abandon its territorial ambitions, and Croatia will more easily solve its internal problem—the crisis in the occupied regions. Communications networks will be instantly reestablished, the return of refugees will be ensured, and we will finally revive the economy and start the rebuilding.

Serbia needs normalization even more, although it would never admit it. Squeezed by the sanctions, which have been making life in Serbia hell, this country has started to revise its views. Therefore the leaders in Belgrade, Milosevic and Cosic, have given Karadzic the thumbs down and obliged him to accept the Vance and Owen plan. Therefore, Serbia does not recognize the self-proclaimed states on the occupied, and ethnically cleansed, regions of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and therefore Milosevic and Cosic recently in Geneva did not reject a priori the basis for an agreement regarding the normalization of interstate relations proposed by Croatia.

It is simply a political reality that the war will have to stop soon, and then the economy and the traffic will have to be reestablished. It is clear that a lot of water will have to flow along the Sava and the Danube before these two rivers start once again to bind people together in two independent and sovereign states. Because neither Croatia nor Serbia have any other possibility—their destiny has determined that they be neighbors. And the better the neighborly relations are, the better off each of the two countries will be.

Nambiar Says Croatian Attack on RSK 'Foolhardy'

LD2801143593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1354 GMT 28 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—The commander of the United Nations Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), India's General Satish Nambiar on Thursday [28 January] said that Croatia's offensive on the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which is guarded by the UNPROFOR, was foolhardy.

"I have to tell you quite frankly that this has been an immensely rash and ill-advised action," REUTERS cited Gen. Nambiar as telling a a news conference in Zagreb. Nambiar said the assault could have destructive consequences which have not been witnessed yet.

Despite two U.N. Security Council demands on Croatia to end its hostilities, the Croatian Army opened a new front on Thursday morning when it attacked the hydro-electric power plant Peruca in southern RSK. Several hundreds of civilians and RSK policemen have so far been killed and around 10,000 persons have fled the areas attacked by Croatia. Croatia launched its aggression on the RSK last Friday.

RSK was set up in 1991 on territories within Croatia's administrative borders on which Serbs make up the majority population in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and its attempt to reduce them to a national minority.

Admiral Reaffirms Stance on Demarcation Line

AU2701213393 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by D. Maricic and N. Vertovsek: "Proposal for Demarcation Line"]

[Excerpts] Zadar—"The Croatian Army informed the other side in Knin via UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] that the demarcation line could only run from the peak of Mala Boblja between Jasenica and Obrovac, then through Przun Hill above Karin, the peak of Vijenac above Nadin and Lisana Tinjska to Gradine Peak. We insist on this demarcation line, because this is the only direction that enables us to bridge the Novi gorge safely. In other words, this guarantees the connection between the northern and southern parts of Croatia. At the same time this is a step forward in the realization of the Vance plan," Croatian Navy Admiral Sveto Letica pointed out after the talks with the representatives of UNPROFOR held at Kolovare Hotel in Zadar on Monday [25 January]. [passage omitted]

"I want the fire on the battlefield to stop and the rest of the enemy units to withdraw from this territory without heavy weapons two hours later. No more lives should be lost. This was a legitimate action of the Croatian forces aimed at securing the zone of the Maslenica bridge, normalizing life in this area, and speeding up the process of disarming Chetnik forces on the temporarily occupied Croatian territory"—Admiral Letica stressed the standpoints of the Croatian side. As reporters were informed, there were minor clashes in certain parts of the area marked by the above-mentioned demarcation line again on Monday morning. The Croatian Army is prepared to completely clear the Zadar area of enemy forces. [passage omitted]

Knin Demands UNPROFOR Protection for Croats

LD2701180993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Petar Pasic, commissioner of the Croatian Government for the Knin municipality, sent a letter today to Ivan Milas, chairman of the State Commission for the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and vice president of the Croatian Government, demanding him to do everything to protect the remaining Croatian population in the Knin area from crimes. About 800 citizens of Croatian nationality have remained in the Knin municipality, the commissioner of the Croatian Government writes in his letter. He also adds that the arrival of refugees from the Benkovac and Obrovac municipality, and particularly the arrival of chetnik formations and volunteers of the notorious war criminals Arkan and Seselj, has rendered their life unbearable and impossible.

We have received reports that the refugees are forcibly moving into their homes and that the Croats are being taken to concentration centers, killed and hanged. Petar

Pasic writes in his letter as he demands the chairman of the State Commission for UNPROFOR inform the UNPROFOR representatives in charge of civilian affairs about this so they can do everything to protect the Croatian population.

Serb 'Crimes' Against Benkovac Croats Reported

LD2701211493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Dusan Kuman, commissioner of the Croatian government for the municipality of Benkovac, has sent a report on terror and human rights violations perpetrated on the occupied territory of the municipality of Benkovac to the Human Rights Committee, the Helsinki Watch, and the UN Human Rights Commission. The report stresses that neither the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] nor numerous international institutions managed to stop the crimes perpetrated by Serb terrorists against the Croats. The report describes all cases when Croats were killed in the area of Benkovac since March 1992 until today. Since the arrival of UNPROFOR in this area, 27 civilians have been killed in cold blood: all the victims were around 60 years old and could not offer any resistance.

Since UNPROFOR was deployed in this area, numerous crimes have been perpetrated against civilians. Serb terrorists have destroyed all 21 Catholic churches and evicted 350 Croats, the report by Dusan Kuman says.

Serb Forces Said Holding 21 UN Civilian Police

LD2801093093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Excerpts] According to reports, Serb forces have been moving men and equipment and intensifying activity throughout the occupied regions in Croatia. Two civilians near Nova Gradiska have been killed. Southern areas are still coming under fire; civilians are being forced from their homes and some have been killed. Ten Croatians have been forced out of the Dinis region and two have been killed. [passage omitted]

Serb paramilitary and militia forces are holding captive 21 UN civilian police in a hotel in Benkovac. According to UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesperson Shannon Boyd, the Serbs say the police are being held for their own safety, but she says this is totally unacceptable. [UNPROFOR chief] General Nambiar has demanded their immediate release.

Krajina Serbs Reject Croatian Truce Proposal

LD2701163693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—The Serb side gave a negative reply to Croatian offers of a truce on the southern Krajina battleground, which were repeated throughout the night, the ISKRA news agency has reported.

When proposing the truce, the Croatian side said it would withdraw its armed forces but would leave "police forces on territories liberated by the Croatian Army so that they can establish Croatian authority there."

The truce proposal signatory, Croatian Admiral Sveto Letica, made a thinly veiled attempt to avoid implementation of Security Council Resolution 802, which demands an unconditional cease-fire, withdrawal of the Croatian aggressor to its starting positions, and the establishment of the "pre-war" situation.

The Serb side demands that the Croatian aggressor implement the resolution and withdraw its army from the state territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina within 24 hours. It adds that two hours of prolonged negotiations have already passed. It is demanded that all weapons, "including the last slingshot," be removed from the Krajina territory, ISKRA says.

Krajina Statement on Opposition Demonstrations

LD2601190093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Serb Krajina issued a statement today saying that the Serb National Council of Krajina is a self-styled, unofficial body of a group of individuals who are not interested in fighting for the interests of the Serbian people, the ISKRA news agency has reported.

The government issued this statement in connection with demonstrations organized by the council, which are to be held in front of the Federal Assembly at 1600 today. The government statement says that the statements made at a press conference today by the council represent the anti-Serbian option.

RSK Army Issues Statement on Counteroffensive

LD2801134793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—After six days of fierce fighting, the Croatian aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] has been halted, the General Staff of the RSK Army stresses in a statement released today.

Positions have been consolidated, defenses reinforced, and units refreshed with new fighters and combat technology, which all creates conditions for a counteroffensive, the statement says.

Territories on the Smilcic-Kasic-Islam Grcki line were recaptured in a counterattack yesterday. Operations around the town of Skabrnje were especially successful "by capturing a dominant high point near the town." Serb forces recaptured Velika Bobija and Mala Bobija, important positions in the foothills of Mount Velebit, near Obrovac.

These successes on the front have significantly increased and strengthened the combat morale of Serb units and

restored the faith of people in their own forces and the courage of their fighters, the statement stresses.

Volunteer soldiers and officers, who are originally from the area and who are still arriving, have certainly contributed to this. "Apart from them, an increasing number of Serbian patriots are joining the struggle against the Croatian aggression."

RSK Army Denies Holding French Hostages

LD2701213093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, Jan 27 (TANJUG)—The Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) on Wednesday denied reports, which have appeared in the press abroad, that French troops on the U.N. peacekeeping force are being held as hostages by Krajina Serbs.

"All French troops have returned to their base at Gracac," said Colonel Kosta Novakovic, spokesman for the R.S.K. Army Command.

The source said that the Serb Army had been threatened by French Defence Minister Pierre Joxe because of allegedly holding French troops as hostages.

"The threat is obvious in the sending of a convoy of French warships towards the Adriatic," it is believed in Knin.

The statement emphasized it was not true that French troops on the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had been held as hostages at Draca and Goles, but were, in fact, saved by the Serbs when the towns were attacked by the Croatian Army, and left the endangered area with Serb help.

"The situation was the same at Karin, where two French troops were killed in a Croatian attack. The others were saved through the efforts of the Krajina fighters," the statement stressed.

"The French Government and Minister Joxe should know that some of their officers have been conducting themselves less than honourably. Under the protection of the U.N. flag, the flag of peace, they have been assisting the Croatian aggressor, hampering communications between Serb forces," the source said.

The Krajina Serb Army accused the French troops of negligence, to say the least, when 22 Krajina police were killed last Friday, the first day of Croatian aggression on the R.S.K., which is under U.N. protection. "The killers—members of a Croatian Army terrorist squad—had passed unnoticed through territory controlled by the French battalion," the Army said.

RSK Denies Claims of Obstructing French Troops

AU2701215993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Slobodan Jarcevic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], has informed the French Embassy in Belgrade that the French UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] soldiers are not blocked and threatened by the Serbian forces, but by the Army of the Republic of Croatia, which carried out aggression on the territory under UN protection.

In the Croatian artillery attack, two French soldiers were killed and three wounded. They were members of the peacekeeping forces near Korin. French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe demanded from the Yugoslav authorities via the French Embassy in Belgrade that they facilitate the withdrawal of the French UNPROFOR battalion. The note claims that the Army of the Serbian Republic [as heard] is hampering the withdrawal of the French blue helmets. France is even threatening to intervene militarily against the Serbian army if the lives of French soldiers are endangered.

Minister Slobodan Jarcevic stresses that the aforementioned claim is not correct and that the soldiers from the French battalion in the territory under the control of the RSK are free and out of danger. They will be enabled to safely leave the area. Minister Jarcevic said that UNPROFOR commander Satish Nambiar has been informed about this.

Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Radoje Kontic has informed the French prime minister that he was assured by the authorities of the Republic of Serbian Krajina that they will extend all possible help to enable the pullout of UNPROFOR soldiers from the war zones.

Krajina Serbs Claim Rout of Croat Positions

LD2701212493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2009 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—A wave of Serb soldiers is heading toward the Serb sea, Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina, told [Krajina's] ISKRA news agency.

"Ustasha positions in the Islam Grcki area have been routed, and Serb units are advancing on Novigrad. A large number of the aggressor's soldiers have been captured in an encircling maneuver," ISKRA stresses.

"Medical teams are providing necessary medical assistance to wounded and captured enemy soldiers", ISKRA says.

An evacuation of seriously wounded soldiers, who cannot get adequate medical treatment in Knin, is being prepared. They will be sent to better equipped medical centers by aircraft and helicopters from Udbina airport,

because the UN Protection Force has permitted flights in the skies over Bosnia, which are otherwise closed, ISKRA said.

Reports speak of enormous destruction, the agency says. Villages which Croatian forces held for only three days, have been completely destroyed.

Krajina Officer Cited on New 'Ustasha' Operations

AU2701165693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander General Satish Nambiar arrived in Knin this morning. Mijusko Tomic reports on this, as well as the situation in Knin:

[Begin Tomic recording] Official talks between General Satish Nambiar and the official representatives of the Republic of Serbian Krajina began at 1030. Asked by domestic and foreign correspondents to comment on the attacks by Croat forces against the positions of the Serbian Krajina and the Serbian people in this region, Gen. Nambiar said that this aggression has already been condemned not only by the UNPROFOR, but by the Security Council as well. He pointed out that he was assured in Zagreb last night that the aggression will stop and cease in any case. This is why I am here, Gen. Satish Nambiar said. We are going to report more about this statement later on in our programs.

Regarding the situation on the battlefield—that is, in the region of Knin—Colonel Kosta Novakovic, deputy commander of the Army of the Serbian Krajina, said that Ustasha forces have begun strong operations along the Maslenica-Jasenice-Obrovac line, probably with a view to taking Obrovac and penetrating further toward Knin. At the same time, a new direction of attack has been opened on the villages of Galovac, Skara, Zeljeva Glava, Biljane, and Benkovac. From both directions, the attacker had partial success, but in fact, our defense has not been threatened much. On the contrary, the attacker suffered great losses. Although [the attacker] carried out very strong artillery and tank attacks, only two fighters of the units of the Army of the Serbian Republic were killed in battles yesterday. All in all, 48 fighters have been killed and 87 wounded.

According to the data we possess, the enemy is bringing new forces from the islands—that is, from the direction of Split toward Zadar—and, as is known, it is also amassing forces in the direction of the Peruca dam in the village of (Bitevic). Fierce battles are being waged at the moment along the Skabrnje-Maslenica- Jasenice-Obrovac line. Both Ustasha gunboats have been engaged in the Novigradsko More Lake. Ustasha forces have been concentrated in the direction of Lika, Kordun, and Banija. At the same time, the enemy is carrying out a strong propaganda and is dropping leaflets, Colonel Krsta Novakovic, deputy commander of the Serbian Krajina army Headquarters, told the journalists. [end recording]

Atrocities Against Serbian Civilians Reported

LD2601212293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 26 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, January 26 (TANJUG)—More than 500 civilians, mostly women and children, were killed in an offensive by the Army of the Republic of Croatia on United Nations (U.N.) protected areas within the administrative borders of Croatia with a predominantly Serb population, the news agency ISKRA of the Republic of Serb Krajina said on Tuesday [26 January].

ISKRA said that Croatian units killed many women and children in the villages of Kasic and Smokovic, which were occupied in the first attack by Croatian forces, and that they mutilated their bodies.

Croatian troops "hanged children, and nailed them to trees, and cut off the heads of some of them," eyewitnesses who managed to escape from these villages told ISKRA.

The Republic of Serb Krajina, which was attacked by Croatia on Friday [22 January], was proclaimed by Serbs within the administrative borders of Croatia in answer to its secession two years ago. As of last spring, Krajina has been under protection of U.N. peace forces.

Yugoslav Federal Vice-Premier Radoje Kontic confirmed the figure of 500 casualties in a letter to the U.N. Security Council on Tuesday.

A senior official at the Krajina Foreign Ministry, Dusko Opacic, told TANJUG that large numbers of civilians had been killed in heavy Croatian artillery attacks.

Opacic said that the population of the villages of Islam Grcki, Islam Latinski, Podgradina, Kusic and Smokovic, in Krajina's bordering region with Croatia, had suffered the most.

"The destruction is immense, and the village of Kusic has been razed," Opacic said.

Opacic explained that the number of casualties was so big because Croatia started the attack with a vast force—15 brigades and around 30,000 troops, while the Serb forces were not able immediately to defend themselves since they were unarmed.

The Krajina Army and police had only small arms, since the zone was demilitarized under the plan for the deployment of the U.N. peace force and all heavy weaponry was placed in warehouses which were under the control of the United Nation Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Questions About Stabilization Program

93BA0496E Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Jan 93 p 15

[Editorial by Miodrag Sajatovic: "Waiting for the Right Beginning"]

[Text] Why adopt a specific program to fight inflation when prices in Croatia are settling down even without it? That might be the "naive" question following the statistical datum that retail prices, after a 23.6-percent rise in November, rose only 22.4 percent during December. Should that trend continue without problems in 1993, it would result in a monthly inflation of only 5 percent, which Hrvoje Sarinic, the prime minister, announced as an ambitious goal in the Croatian Assembly.

Of course, anyone who is even the least informed can assume that this "calming down" is nothing more than a will-o'-the-wisp just before New Year's, even though it has a statistical basis. A painful anti-inflation program is exceedingly necessary, and it is certain that its operationalization will essentially determine the number of cigarettes smoked and coffee drunk in 1993 by nervous entrepreneurs and managers. Adoption of the Bases of the Stabilization Program, which along with reduction of inflation also envisages a 16-percent growth of the social product, has unfortunately not helped to calm the nerves of the business world. It is still a situation in which almost nothing is known.

First, the principles on which the government intends to cut inflation and stimulate market conditions were adopted in the Croatian Assembly too slowly for one to be able to say that there will be concord in carrying them out as well. The moves that are being announced with respect to government revenues and expenditures are so severe that fierce lobbyist conflicts began as soon as the first measures were introduced. The signals coming from representatives of the health service, culture, and athletics during the actual session of the Croatian Assembly are only a gentle prelude to what might follow. Business people, then, cannot be certain that the changes announced in the business climate will actually be implemented continuously.

Second, there is a question of how feasible it will be to tighten the restrictions on firms in bad financial health, which in 1992 were very mild? It is hard to imagine a new turn of the screw. Nor is the announcement of a restrictive monetary policy really so convincing that businessmen and managers will reduce the inflationary expectations they incorporate into prices. Back at the beginning of 1992, the National Bank of Croatia adopted restrictions in an attempt to quickly convince enterprise directors that in monetary terms the stage of the money river had risen essentially.

The third unknown is how large a real increase can be expected in 1993. There is an essential difference between the forecast and the plan. The forecasts are objective, but plans necessarily incorporate an element of political desire. It would seem that the projections of a 40-percent growth of tourism, 30.2-percent growth of construction, and 14.3-percent growth of industry, while sales figures in retail trade would be maintained within 1992 limits, represent more a plan and less a forecast. Especially because we do not know what will happen in the military area or with the inflow of foreign capital.

Under such conditions, businessmen and managers can do nothing but conduct the business policy they have conducted up to now, that which is most sensible from their own microeconomic standpoint, and wait for the first measures to bring down inflation. If the "axis" of Mladen Vedris and Dr. Gorazd Nikic (who last year drew up a stabilization program as a voluntary "homework assignment" at the city level) nevertheless managed to proceed with a consistent policy, there can be no relaxation for the business firm, at least in the first half of the year. If there should be any tax exemptions, then the relief would be offset by the restrictive monetary policy that has been announced. Creation of a credit drought for losing firms, which have been dependents, primarily in the public sector, would by a chain reaction hurt their numerous suppliers.

Data on Weapons Supply to Former Yugoslavia

93BA0507C Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 93 p 3

[Article by Fran Visnar, NOVI VJESNIK military commentator: "What Would the End of the Embargo Bring?"]

[Text] In spite of the embargo on importation of weapons into the former Yugoslavia, all the newly created states are at the moment a most interesting area for business transactions that bring a safe and quick profit. Slovenia is extremely active in this regard. Even if they cannot immediately buy everything they need, thanks to the incredibly penetrating marketing on the world arms market, the Slovenians already have reserved the systems which particularly interest them. These are, above all, multipurpose helicopters equipped for carrying soldiers, but also for assault operations from providing support to ground troops to independent attacks on enemy armor.

Be that as it may, Anglo-American sources say that there are three main centers in Europe for the purchase of arms and brokerage transactions: Uppsala (Sweden), Prague, and Ljubljana. It is not just arms of Western origin that are being bought and sold: Those from the East are somewhat poorer in quality, but on the other hand cheaper, beginning with the Strela and Igla light portable antiaircraft launchers, RPG-7 and RPG-16 portable antitank launchers—to wire-guided antitank missiles like the Malyutka and the heavier AT-4 Spigot system. The Singapore firm known by the name CIS penetrated Slovenia back in 1990 and then Croatia. The people from Singapore, for example, manufacture under license the well-known German portable antitank

launcher Armbrust (used successfully in the June war in Slovenia in 1991 and then on all battlefields in Croatia). CIS's SAR-80 automatic assault rifle, which is 5.56-mm, first reached Slovenia and somewhat later Croatia as well. Much the same is true of the Ultimax-100 submachine gun: CIS was the first foreign supplier of arms to bring new weapons into the space of the Yugoslavia of that time, which formally still existed, and to break up what until then had been the absolute domination and monopoly of Serbian light infantry weapons developed on the basis of the kalashnikov. The Singapore military industry continues to be very ambitious (manufacturing cannons, howitzers, all types of mortars, bazookas, ammunition, tank hunters, armored vehicles, missile boats, and so on), so that after the embargo is removed it will be among the first in Slovenia and Croatia, with a sure market, especially for heavy systems.

Swedish merchants have been marketing in the war-torn zones of the former Yugoslavia measured amounts of Bofors antiaircraft cannons, antitank launchers, various types of ammunition, electronic aids, laser range finders, and target trackers. When the embargo ceases, convoys of heavy weapons will set out from Uppsala, first of all with the excellent FH-77 155-mm howitzers, which have their own motor propulsion, and sizable quantities of the Carl Gustaf antitank weapons and the RBS-70 light antiaircraft launchers.

The Czechs have cut most of the best business deals. In addition to short-barrel weapons (pistols), along with ammunition, Russian, but also Czech, kalashnikovs (Vz 58PIV) 7.62-mm rifles have been reaching Slovenia and Croatia regularly, and there is no party to the conflict which does not have the light Scorpion M-60 7.65-mm machine gun. Several hundred more howitzers, cannons, T-55 and T-72 tanks, BRDM and OT armored personnel carriers, 122- and 130-mm multibarrel rocket launchers, Frog (Luna-2), SS-21, SS-23, and Scud A and B surface-to-surface missiles, and SAM-4, -6, -8, -9, and -13 surface-to-air missiles are waiting to be sold in warehouses in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

So far, merchants from Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Singapore have sold arms and ammunition worth $1 billion in Slovenia and Croatia. But the Serbs have set up their main "dealer chain" on Cyprus, where they are procuring everything they need from the Arabs, Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Moldovans (they have spent $800 million and plan to spend as much again). The Muslims in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] nevertheless are counting on light, medium, and heavy weapons of Islamic origin (Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Malaysia) in the value of $1 billion, while the Macedonians have been able to find their sole supplier in Bulgaria (light weapons worth $200 miliion).

What we have said means that the first arms race in these parts will begin as soon as the embargo ceases to be officially in effect (arms worth $3 billion are awaiting that day, and they include aircraft, and they have been reserved and a deposit paid on them by Slovenia, Croatia, B-H, Macedonia, and Serbia along with Montenegro). Talk about demilitarization is talk about a distant future.

Drnovsek, Croat Counterpart To Continue Talks

AU2701181093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] In a telephone conversation held yesterday with Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic suggested the continuation of talks on open questions between the two states. He expressed his wish for the talks—both at the highest level and the level of experts—to be held in the spirit of constructive good-neighbor cooperation.

Dr. Janez Drnovsek today received the Croat president's special envoy, Dr. Rudolf. Dr. Rudolf handed Drnovsek a letter from Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic on some open questions concerning the sea, and particularly the Piran Bay.

Interference in Ambassador's Appointment Denied

AU2701183493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] In response to articles by some Slovene newspapers saying that Lojze Peterle recently tried to prevent the consent by the Republic of Argentina to the appointment of Franco Juri as ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia in Buenos Aires, the Slovene Foreign Ministry issued an explanation. It is said in the explanation that this is an attempt by the newspapers to accuse the new foreign minister Lojze Peterle of interfering with the procedure of acquiring Argentinian consent for the appointment of Ambassador Juri. Lojze Peterle points out that an inflammation of public polemics regarding this issue can only damage the regular procedure of acquiring the consent for Franco Juri as ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia to the Republic of Argentina.

Assembly Committees Meet Ministerial Candidates

AU2701213093 Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 22 Jan 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Candidates Are Suitable"]

[Text] Ljubljana—The first five candidates for ministers in the new government of the Republic of Slovenia presented themselves to the corresponding interim commissions of the State Council of the Republic of Slovenia and answered their questions, according to Article 112 of the Slovene Constitution.

The following candidates have presented their programs: Ivo Bizjak, candidate for the minister for internal affairs; Miha Kozinc, for the minister for judiciary; Dr. Davorin Kracun, for the minister for economic relations and development; Dr. Joze Osterc, for the minister for agriculture and forestry; and Dr. Maks Tajnikar, for the minister for economic affairs.

The candidates explained how they see the organization of "their" ministries, as well as their activity. They also spoke about the most burning problems that they plan to solve. The candidates for ministerial posts also had to answer questions by members of the State Chamber commissions.

The State Chamber commissions assessed that the programs presented by the ministerial candidates were good and concluded that the candidates are suitable for the proposed posts.

Other candidates are going to present themselves to corresponding State Chamber commissions today, and the State Council will vote on the proposed ministers on Monday [25 January].

Hear Candidates' Agendas

AU2601215593 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Jan 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "All Candidates Confirmed"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Jan—Members of the interim commissions of the State Chamber today heard and supported candidates for ministers proposed by Prime Minister-designate Dr. Janez Drnovsek. Presented today were candidates for members of the new Slovene Government, ministers for defense, labor, family and social affairs, finances, culture, education and sports, transport and communications, foreign affairs, environmental protection and regional planing, health, and science and technology.

The most uncertain situation occurred at the presentation of the candidate for defense minister, Janez Jansa. First, there was the problem because a member of the commission from the ranks of the Social-Democrats was not present at the session, so Jansa had to take his post. The first result of the vote was 5:5, which meant that the candidate did not receive the commission's support. When the commission chairman used the right to have two votes, Jansa received six votes. Ciril Ribicic (United List) and Zmago Jelincic (Slovene National Party) were against him and deputies of the Liberal Democratic party did not vote for him either. Janez Jansa commented on this later and pointed out that this was very strange, saying that deputies of the Liberal Democratic Party were not acting in accordance with the coalition agreement signed today, when the Social Democrats joined the agreement already signed by the Liberal Democratic Party and Christian Democratic Party. After the meeting of the commission, Zmago Jelincic said that he is going to demand the annulment of the vote. According to him, the president of the commission did not have the right to two votes, which applies only to the chairman of the commission for mandates and immunity, and that the commission should vote on Janez Jansa once again.

There were also problems in the commission when Dr. Slavko Gaber presented himself as candidate for minister for education and sports. Zoltan Jan, member of the State Council, also wanted to ask the candidate some questions, but Commission Chairman Tone Persak decided that questions are only to be asked by members of the State Chamber.

Mitja Gaspari, candidate for finance minister, listed a number of laws in the field of economy, taxation, and state revenue that should be adopted this year so that one would enter 1994 with finance laws comparable to the ones in the world. As minister, he would advocate lower and more rational public spending. Igor Umek, candidate for minister for transport, said that his goals include liberalization of traffic and easy access to traffic services and that invested capital would mainly be used to build along the Italy-Hungary line. Jozica Puhar, candidate for labor minister, received support, although three commission members were not completely satisfied with her speech. Mrs. Puhar said, among other things, that she would first take up the integration of the ministry. Sergij Pilhan, candidate for the minister of culture, said, among other things, that he would support a more lively cultural development. Miha Jazbinsek, candidate for minister for environment, gave priority to the protection of nature, water management, nuclear protection, and further solving of the housing question. Lojze Peterle, as candidate for foreign minister, said that he will make an effort to assert Slovenia's role in all spheres, on good neighborly relations and joining all European integrational currents. Dr. Rado Bohinc and Dr. Bozidar Voljc, candidates for ministers for science and health respectively, also presented their programs before the commissions.

State Chamber Approves Proposed Government

AU2601220793 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Report by Gojko Brvar]

[Excerpt] At their session yesterday, the deputies of the State Chamber of the Republic of Slovenia voted on the government proposed by Prime Minister-designate Dr. Drnovsek and on establishing a commission to act according to the Law on Incompatibility of Public Function With Profit [word indistinct] Activity. Although the legal deadline for establishing it has expired, the commission was established and Christian Democrat Ciril Pucko was appointed its chairman.

The list of 15 ministers proposed by the prime minister-designate went considerably well through voting yesterday. Although, one expected—after the vote in the interim commission—that voting on the defense minister was not going to be easy, but the coalition partners obviously decided not to create problems, so Dr. Ciril Ribicic—who was a harsh critic at the Commission session—today suggested to the deputies to vote in favor of the list, although not everybody was delighted with Janez Jansa as defense minister.

At the secret vote at the State Chamber, the new government received two-thirds of all deputies' votes—60 votes—as not all 90 deputies attended the meeting. The five new ministers—who until the vote used to be deputies, which they can no longer be—have vacated five assembly seats that will be taken by the next candidates from these parties, depending on the success at the elections or the next ones at the national list. Therefore, we are going to have two new Liberal Democrats, and one deputy each among the Christian Democrats, United List, and Social Democrats. [passage omitted]

Federal

Army Denies Muslim Charges of Entering Bosnia

AU2701214393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] The Yugoslav Army General Staff announces that the assertions the Bosnian Muslim delegation made in its letter to Vance and Owen regarding the incursion of Yugoslav Army units onto the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina represent the most crude untruth. The delegation of Bosnian Muslims once again resorted to a dirty political maneuver, obviously aimed at undermining the Geneva negotiations, it is pointed out in the announcement of the Yugoslav Army General Staff.

Further on, is it said in the announcement that the Bosnian Muslims are keeping silent about their own armed attacks against the territory of Yugoslavia. They are keeping silent about the killing of civilians and numerous instances of shelling the Perucac hydroelectric power plant, the destruction of which would cause a catastrophe in the Drina Valley.

The Yugoslav Army has only taken measures necessary to protect the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the citizens living in that region, along with measures necessary to protect certain vital facilities. In doing all this, members of the Yugoslav Army did not leave the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Army General Staff points out.

Djukic Voices Hopes in UN, EC for Peace

LD2701231793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2253 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic said on Wednesday [27 January] evening he hoped that the U.N. Security Council and the European Community would to everything to allay the need for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to help militarily the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] which has been the victim of Croatia's aggression.

On January 22, Croatia assaulted the U.N.-protected RSK and has since been defying the Security Council's order to withdraw to behind the demarcation line.

Yugoslavia has great trust in the United Nations and believes that the E.C. too will take all the necessary steps, Djukic told reporters in Belgrade upon returning from Athens where he had accompanied Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic on a one-day visit to Greece.

Stressing that Yugoslavia would do everything in its power to remain consistent in its peace policy, Djukic warned, however, that restraint would snap if Croatia's aggression continued.

Asked whether the Yugoslav Army would help the RSK, Djukic replied that Yugoslavia would do everything not to be forced to cross that particular line but would cross it if it was necessary in order to defend a segment of its own people. However, he continued, it is not enough that Yugoslavia alone should do so ... the others should show too that they are for peace, especially Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and his government and army, as well as all those who can influence the situation.

We must all help maintain the Geneva peace process and deal with all problems there, the Yugoslav foreign minister said.

Information Minister Miodrag Perisic was asked about the Yugoslav Government's position on the fact that volunteers from Yugoslavia had already gone to the RSK. He replied that the government had not organized any dispatch of volunteers and that, furthermore, their number was insignificant.

The whole action is more an expression of moral support for the heavily outnumbered Serb people in the RSK, said Perisic.

Assesses Talks in Greece

AU2701202393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Report by Zeljko Avramovic]

[Text] The Yugoslav delegation returned to Belgrade from its one-day visit to Greece this evening at about 1700. Although President Cosic was expected to brief the reporters on the course and content of the talks with the Greek hosts, it was Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic who addressed them at the Belgrade airport.

Djukic described the talks in Athens as a pertinent, serious, and thorough exchange of views, conducted in a friendly atmosphere during which Greece expressed full support and assurances that it will be on Yugoslavia's side. The Greek side stressed that it particularly appreciated the support extended by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, and the Serbian delegation in Geneva.

Yugoslavia's restraint left a lasting impression on Greece. Facing the choice after Croatia's aggression on the Serbian Krajina of entering a war with unforeseeable consequences or remaining consistent with its determination to find a peaceful solution, Yugoslavia chose the latter. According to Minister Djukic, the Greek president and the prime minister condemned Croatia's aggressive behavior and expressed the hope that the international community will do everything possible to stop the aggression against Serbian Krajina.

Regarding Yugoslavia, Djukic stressed that it will do its utmost to stop short of reaching the line we would have to cross to defend our people. However, it is not enough that only we should be working on it. This is primarily the duty of the United Nations.

The two sides agreed in Athens that the time has come to raise the question of lifting the sanctions against Yugoslavia. A possibility of joint activities aimed at breaking the diplomatic isolation of our country was also considered.

President Cosic's Position Seen Threatened

93BA0500A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 93 p 9

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic]

[Text] It is quite possible that after the Geneva talks, regardless of their results, the political charlatans who at this moment are intolerably powerful, will try to remove the father of the Serbian nation from the top Yugoslav position. A wave of intolerance and animosity for the president of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic started from within the two most powerful Serbian parties with an obvious threat to soon become a real flood. A peasant with glasses, at this moment is like a rope stretched above the abyss between our madness and reason. If by a stroke of bad luck, this rope breaks, we shall find ourselves in sudden darkness, much darker than the darkness which has already befallen us.

Whether he likes to hear this or not, he generously helped the Belgrade regime to gain a reputation as an honorable and wise patriot, this regime from its very beginning has not been equally generous to him. On the contrary, more and more often as the already forgotten gesticulant American would say, this regime is siccing the dogs on him.

Mr. Seselj is a true and faithful friend of President Cosic, something that could not be said of Mr. Milosevic. But, since the "duke without a beard" has, for some time now, been employed parttime by the "king of Balkan intrigue," the odds are that the first speaks out, loud and public, the still hidden thoughts of the latter.

Based on this, one could conclude that the Moravac's days, at the position he now occupies, are numbered.

The top of the Socialist Party of Serbia is, above all, a protagonist of a never ending human passion called—power. Mr. Cosic was chosen to cover up this passion with a definite "idea of statehood." His Christmas address to the nation showed, however, that the academic, on this occasion again crossed the permissible line and trespassed into the property of the ruler.

Speaking of the tragedies that hang over the Serbian people, President Cosic ended his address to the nation with a suggestion that those in power, most certainly, did not appreciate.

"To avoid such tragedies, a NEW state and national policy must be implemented; the intellectual, moral, and democratic powers of Serbia and Montenegro which are prepared to lead this NEW policy, must urgently gather and unite...

I therefore, suggest, appeal, and beg the new assemblies, the Federal, as well as the assemblies of the Republics, and I suggest, appeal, and beg all the political parties to immediately begin talks to arrange for the forming of a concentrative government, a government of national and state salvation, a government for democratic unity between Montenegro and Serbia, of partisan and nonpartisan representatives, experts, and prominent people who will take political, moral, and historical responsibility for the survival of our new state, and ensure the vital interests of the people of both Serbia and Montenegro."

This is an excerpt from Mr. Cosic's message that will cause the most controversy on the domestic scene, regardless of what is going on in the international political scene. It all boils down to this dilemma: is Mr. Milosevic ready to share at least some of the power today, as opposed to yesterday, and in the interest of the people whose destiny he says concerns him so much, with people endowed with capabilities which the majority of those surrounding him so obviously lack.

President Cosic sees a way out in such a policy, but such a new policy is unthinkable without new people. He believes that these new people should be found among the nonpartisan ranks, and thus, suggests a "concentrative government, a government of national and state salvation." Mr. Milosevic's favorite Serbian politician, Dr, Vojislav Seselj, reacted in a flash as usual, saying that Serbia will be led exclusively by those who won the elections, and not by those who the "author who lies" wants.

By managing to remain as the head of Serbia for five years, Slobodan Milosevic has practically confirmed one of the sacred rules of communism, that is, in the name of the people one can rule over them for a long time in spite of the fact that the wisest heads of those people are against such rule. The majority of Serbian academics are displeased with the rule of Mr. Milosevic, and so is the leadership of the Serbian Orthodox church, leading independent intellectuals, students, renowned writers, and journalists. The thinking portion of the Serbian population has openly showed that the intellectual is not always unreservedly faithful, but that it has a strange habit of doing what comes naturally—to think.

And, so when the intellect decides, logically, one does not accept and follow blindly everything that is being offered.

Mr. Milosevic has molded his power to suit his own character, his mirror image. This power is a reflection of his inner self. It is time, I think, that the Serbs finally set clear goals for obtaining their highest hopes. The present government which is identified as the people's will, and at the same time is being ignored by Serbian intellectuals, is not capable of performing this sacred duty. Ruling the people, but not its intellect, is bound to fail. It is possible that someone imbued with a Marxist education will say that this means advocating elitism. And,

why not? Now the time has come for the intellect to finally have the place which, by God and Truth, it deserves.

For Mr. Cosic, not only the progress but also the survival of the state is conditioned by the unity of its intellectual, moral, and democratic powers. Such a unity, Mr. Cosic sees in a concentrative government, made up of confirmed national values. The Moravac, thus trusts more the restless and disobedient intellect of Serbia, while the Dinaric remains faithful to the—obedient. Certainly, everything comes at a price, and the highest price is set by unrestrained arrogance.

And, so the Serbian divisions continue indefinitely: loyalists, infidels, sinners, ... And, finally, the last Serbian division—the smart and the stupid, the informed and the uninformed, the frightened and the brave, those who follow the fate imposed on them, and those who decide their own fate. Thus, young men who do not want to be subjugated and who disagree, may form lines in front of the foreign diplomatic missions if they already have not left for some other part of the world, and Serbia, with such terrible and long-term consequences, remains silent about this exodus. The actual government, preoccupied with its own survival, does not have the time, or anything else for that matter, to think that a concentrative government could, at this moment, lead us out from the concentric circles, (perhaps even a future concentration camp) in which we now find ourselves.

Need To Eliminate Foreign Interference

93BA0503A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 93 p 11

[Article by M. Mijalkovski: "An Inescapable Condition for Halting the War"]

[Text] War has already lasted a year and a half on the soil of the former Yugoslavia in spite of the persistent effort and goodwill of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and of the Serbian people outside the FRY to bring it to an end. Those who created it, provoked it, and are carrying it on, after all, have been making perfidious and desperate efforts to broaden it, at the same time making undocumented and extremely tendentious accusations against only one (the Serbian) side.

Instead of restoring a lasting peace, the foreign powers have been systematically stimulating the belligerent illusions of the direct and indirect participants of the war in the former Yugoslavia, and they are doing so now. Those powers that be in the world, after all, who claim to render judgment about everything in the Yugoslav conflict, undoubtedly possess immense theoretical and practical knowledge about war as a phenomenon. Which only makes it more astounding that they should be so manifestly "ignorant" in interpreting terms such as "armed rebellion" (for the purpose of secession), "armed aggression," and "military intervention." And so long as they display their "ignorance" about this set of problems, they will actually be confirming their commitment to prolongation (and expansion) of war on the soil of the former Yugoslavia.

Disturbing Proportions

War would never have broken out in this region if certain neighboring countries of the former SFRY had not participated militarily in its preparation, either directly or indirectly. Had it started, it undoubtedly would have ended quickly if foreign military involvement had not grown by geometric progression. Because foreign military involvement has been very pronounced in the ethnic and religious war in the former B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], it is illusory to expect the war to end unless that involvement is completely eliminated. Foreign military involvement in the intensive preparations of the Republic of Croatia to carry out armed aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and in the continuous preparations of the Albanian secessionists in the FRY for armed rebellion is like a nuclear detonator whose activation is only a matter of timing.

The question logically arises: Why is such importance being attributed to foreign military involvement in the breakup of the former SFRY and in the attempt to break up the FRY? Although pretty much everyone is well aware of the answer, there is good reason to state it once again. This is the fact that the past, current, and future destroyers of everything that is Yugoslav and Serbian, following a comprehensive assessment, concluded that there were no conditions under which they could achieve their objectives of conquest, enslavement, and genocide unless the Serbian people consented to such a thing by their own free will. But in spite of such a conclusion, they decided to attempt to realize their illusions, guided above all by enmity, for which, just up to this point, they have paid tens of thousands of young lives.

The shattering and then complete rejection of those irrational objectives would long ago have occurred if in their military resolution international entities and organizations had correctly sorted out who is who and who is doing what in the armed conflict on the soil of the former SFRY.

Enough was known about Croatian illusions that by the use of force they would enslave and then physically exterminate the Serbian people even during the election campaign of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]. It is not very likely that the attempt would have been made to materialize those illusions without the large military contribution of Hungary. The world passed over in silence the approximately 50,000 kalashnikovs which it gallantly sold to Croatia in the fall of 1990. That number of kalashnikovs is a drop in the ocean compared to the types and quantity of arms and ammunition which Croatia has procured from Hungary since that time or that have been delivered to Croatia across Hungarian territory from other countries. Most of these quantities of war materiel ended up in the former B-H to supply the

contingent (60,000 men) of the OS ["armed forces" or "defense force"] of Croatia.

On the assumption that international organizations and associations actually do want the war stopped on the soil of the former Yugoslavia, the military involvement of Hungary (and many other countries) in the continuous abetting of armed conflicts in these parts would long ago have been put on the agenda. It is comical for the Islamic countries to be insisting on removal of the embargo against the export of arms to the former B-H, when for months, in an agreement with Croatia, they have without hindrance been advancing immense quantities of arms and ammunition to Muslim military units. The "humanitarian cargo" of the Iranian airplane confiscated recently at the Zagreb Airport is only one argument of this kind.

A Resolution Against War Is Indispensable

Those who advocate establishing a new world order have been continuously, occasionally even in campaign fashion, announcing military intervention against the Army of the Serbian Republic and the FRY, and Croatia against the Republic of Serbian Krajina. But it is obvious that armed aggression, not only military intervention, against those entities has been carried out long ago. That is, Croatia's armed aggression against the former B-H has gone on for months and has assumed disturbing proportions. There are several thousand foreign mercenaries and jihad fighters within the armed formations of Croatia and the so-called Territorial Defense of the former B-H. Turkey's insane designs to establish an airlift to certain regions of the former B-H for the purpose of advancing "aid" cannot be otherwise interpreted than as a broadening of the current aggression. The organized recruitment and training in camps of many "democratic" countries of Europe and the sending of contingents of fighting men from them to the space of the former Yugoslavia is yet another drastic argument about the military involvement of many countries in the Yugoslav conflict. The continually announced armed aggression, then, can only be a broadening and deepening, not something that is yet to come, as a large number of world "peacemakers" would like to portray it.

Numerous facts indicate that if the United Nations truly intends to halt the war in the former B-H and prevent its expansion, it must adopt a resolution against war as soon as possible. Its content would undoubtedly have to be aimed above all at condemning all foreign factors which have become militarily involved in the armed conflict in Yugoslavia and then at consistent respect of the right of all peoples to self-determination.

A possible decision on the part of the United Nations and a demand that all entities of the international community militarily involved in the Yugoslav armed conflict honestly acknowledge and declare their military involvement and then cease it completely would be the strongest move in the direction of establishing lasting peace in this region.

Serbia

Volunteers Reporting To Fight for Krajina

AU2801081093 Paris AFP in English 0334 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Report by Jovan Matic]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (AFP)—Serbian men—some as old as 50—are flocking to recruiting centers here to volunteer to fight alongside fellow Serbs battling Croatian forces in the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic of Krajina (SRK).

"Serbia is defending itself in Krajina," reads a sign at the office here of the SRK, a Serb-controlled enclave in Croatia that has been the scene of heavy fighting between Croatians and Krajina Serbs for the past six days.

Dozens of men gathered Wednesday [27 January] outside the headquarters, waiting to be taken to the front, while others—aged 25 to 50—were already aboard a nearby bus.

"We're managing to send off a dozen buses a day from the office here," an SRK information official, Nikola Simjanovic, told AFP.

"But I can't give you an exact number (of volunteers) because there are other recruiting centers in the capital."

"We face a lot of technical problems sending all these people to Krajina, where they're given weapons and uniforms and placed under control of the SRK military."

Today, only Serbia and Montenegro make up Federal Yugoslavia, four other republics—including Croatia—having proclaimed their independence.

Following Croatian independence ethnic Serbs remained in the Krajina region, protected by a United Nations-monitored accord worked out a year ago.

But a ceasefire between Serbian and Croatian forces in the area broke down last Friday when Croat troops launched an offensive to consolidate their positions in and around Krajina.

Simjanovic criticized Yugoslavia's "passivity" and what he said was Belgrade's reluctance "to actively commit itself to the defense of the Serbian people."

He complained that repeated appeals for help to federal Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic—who he charged was more interested in his stature in Europe than in helping Serbs—and army chief Zivota Panic had gone unheeded.

"We are left alone to face the aggression," he said.

"We cannot agree to surrender an inch of our territory and the Croatian army, despite its strength, will be forced to give up its conquests," Simjanovic vowed.

"We would prefer to rely on ourselves and to help our brothers preserve their freedom," declared one volunteer, who said he doubted that the United Nations would be able to resolve the conflict in Krajina.

In addition to independent volunteers leaving here by bus, fighters belonging to militias controlled by Serbian MPs Vojislav Seselj of the ultra-right Radical Serbian Party and Zeljko Raznjatovic have already arrived in Krajina and have seen action.

At Novi Sad, 70 kilometers (45 miles) north of here, militants from the opposition Serbian Renewal Movement of Vuk Draskovic said they had sent one busload of volunteers to Krajina on Monday, with four others to follow by the end of the week.

Mistreatment in Muslim-Croatian Camps Detailed

93BA0507A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by Silvija Terzic: "I Am Beating You Because You Are a Serb"]

[Text] Bijela, 25 Dec—The Croatian vessel Lastovo sailed into the port of Zelenik yesterday bringing 81 prisoners just released from the Muslim-Croatian camps in Visoko, Zenica, and Konjic. They were all put up in the Delfin Hotel in Bijela and will stay there for awhile.

It is not easy to delve into such fresh, such painful, such unhappy memories, it is not easy to interview a man whose father, mother, brother, and uncle have been murdered, it is not easy to tell about the golgotha experienced those seven or eight months of imprisonment, and then members of the family who have remained there in Bosnia-Hercegovina are another reason why it is not easy. Nevertheless, they say, the whole world should hear the truth about the sufferings of the Serbs in Bosnia.

Bradina, Blace, and Bjelovcina No Longer Exist

In the lobby of the hotel, we found some 50 camp inmates just released. Silence, silence, and sadness. Nevertheless, we began to talk....

The camp in Celebici was located in a ventilation tunnel; access was open to anyone who wanted to beat and torture the Serbs....

A man from Bjelovcina who during World War II was in camps in Germany said of that camp that those camps were hotels and sanatoriums compared to Celebic.

A piece of bread for breakfast, a piece for lunch, and the same for dinner. That was the entire meal. Nothing else. It was that way for 40 days, and then three days without any bread or water. They would take 240 people out to urinate at the three places designated for that and give them three minutes....

"The first visit of the International Red Cross was on 12 August, and then on the 13th and 14th, and since that time no one was murdered, but we had to pay for that visit: On 13 August, they led us outside, where we sat on the asphalt, and they beat our legs until we fainted. Many were unconscious, they could neither sit up nor lie down, but the next day we did not dare to tell the people from the Red Cross that they had beaten us, and we could hardly wait for them to leave, because we could no longer stand nor sit without someone's help...," a former inmate of the Muslim prison in Celebic recounted.

"We slept on the concrete, pressed one against the other," said a 21-year-old from the vicinity of Konjic.

Scepo Gotovac, a 70-year-old from Bjelovcina, was "tried" and convicted because, according to his executioners, he had been in the Chetniks during World War II. They nailed a cockade on the old man's forehead, although in the morning he still gave signs of life, they did not allow anyone to go near him, and he died in terrible pain.

The villages Bradina, Blace, and Bjelovcina no longer exist. The whirlwind of war swept them away with their inhabitants. The houses were burned and plundered, the male inhabitants, if they did not flee, went to the camps or were killed. Even old age was not sacred to the executioners. The women and children stayed with their families and friends.

The Muslims called the village Bradina Donji Repovci, and the Croats Selo Ravno. In Donja Bradina, 21 inhabitants lost their lives, and no one knows what happened to four or five others.

"There did not have to be any reason for them to take you to a camp or to kill you, your nationality was your greatest sin," a 30-year-old said.

The Visit of Journalists From the Arab Countries

The most loathsome crime was committed against the Kuljanin family. Nedeljko Kuljanin, whose nickname was "Bakery," a teacher who taught school in the Muslim village Repovac, was found wounded in his house. Women and children openly stuck hot iron on his open wounds, the wounds were stabbed with red-hot metal, and in the end they cut his throat.... Others who are no more are Vaso Kuljanin, Mirko Kuljanin, his son Zoran, and Drago Kuljanin and his sons Mirko and Gojko, as well as Jovo, Todor, and Vaso Zuc....

"They made one lad beat his friend, and the guard put his rifle to the throat of the one who was lying down. The one who was supposed to beat him, hit him slightly once, and the bullet that was in the chamber fired.... In the evening, they also killed the one who was supposed to do the beating so that there would be no living witnesses," said a man who spent six months in camp—first in Celebici and then in Konjic.

"Once when they beat me, I asked the guard why they were beating me? He answered: I am beating you because you are a Serb."

"There were also Serbian informers," says a man whose youth was suddenly interrupted by events which wove the most cruel destiny which Serbian inhabitants of Bosnia remember, as he continued his story: "They stole food along with the guards, and a Serb was an accomplice in the murder of Zeljko Milosevic and Slavko Susic. Twice journalists came from the Arab countries with cameras. They beat us in front of them while they were taking pictures. With guns pointed at our backs, they forced us to confess that we had committed murders and rapes.... All of this in front of the cameras."

It Was Different in Konjic

"All of them should be slaughtered," said an Arab journalist in excellent Serbian as he left the room. "Probably one of the former students in Yugoslavia...," testifies a former inmate of camps in Celebic and Konjic.

It was somewhat different in Konjic thanks to Ismet Hebibovic, known as Broceta, who did not allow the inmates to be beaten, or the women to be raped, our informants told us.

"One night someone happened to open fire on the auditorium of the school where the camp was located. Glass flew everywhere. We later learned that a member of the military police had opened fire, but without the knowledge or permission of the commandant of the prison," the recently released camp inmates recounted.

* Situation in Subotica Hospital Called 'Critical'

93BA0431A Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 14 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Agnes S. Kiss: "We Are Practicing Survival; Heating From Charity; Money Collected in Subotica Account To Solve the Clinics' Heating Problems"]

[Text] Speaking of health care, even a month ago the minister in charge stated that so far the statistical results of preventive care have not deteriorated.... Well, maybe statistics do not show it yet, but the truth is that in Subotica the hospital has been working at one-third of its capacity for months, and the supply of medicines is at a critical level. That so far it has not become necessary to close down three district clinics in the city because of the lack of fuel can be attributed to the owners of three private companies: They provided 10 cubic meters [m^3] firewood each to clinic No. 3 on the road to Bajmok, clinic No. 1 on Kumicic Street, and clinic No. 5.

Ljubica Martinovic, financial director of the Health Center, is walking a financial tightrope between inflation and the lack of money. Although on paper, in the report for the third quarter, income covers expenses (but at what price?), they could hardly survive the current conditions without financial maneuvers.... The 1-million-dinar loss of the second quarter has still not been recovered.

"The greatest problem is that the money arrives several months late, and even though our cooperation with the health care fund is good, we are continually forced to rearrange priorities. We were still paying the debt and interest from the first half of the year when we were unable to pay for mailing, and we also owe Naftagas. Our expenses consume huge amounts. In October, the operation of the internal furnace of the hospital, which is not even used for heating, cost 20 million dinars. In spite of all frugality (it would be impossible to run a hospital any more efficiently), the expenses consume huge amounts. The maintenance of instruments and health care equipment alone costs 15 milli n dinars a month," Ljubica Martinovic said.

"Health care is only one concerned party (and at the same time, victim) in the difficult situation that affects all of us, and is necessarily characterized by the lack of money," says Dr. Dragutin Crnjakovic, director general of the center. "And let us not forget: Certain principles of thrift must be observed at the order of Belgrade. The Health Care Center does not think that closing any one of the clinics is justified; decisions like this are foisted on us from above, primarily through reducing health care to beggary. Still, we must maintain solidarity. This is why we suggested that the town open an account, and we would use the contributions paid into it to mend wherever the greatest need arises. What we undertook, what we were able to undertake in this economic situation, we fulfilled—we bought 100 metric tons of coal and 80 m^3 firewood. It is a different matter that the Health Care Center is completely helpless; that in setting up the network of district clinics, rationality was not considered. But also, that our proposal to open the account was delayed several weeks.... Our technical experts decided the closing of health clinics could be considered. One had to take a lot of things into consideration. Whichever we had chosen, the population living in the area would have been hard hit. Health care legislation did not narrow down rights, only failed to provide money. We all are practicing survival. Even if the entire health care contribution of Szabadka stayed here, it would not be enough. In spite of everything, thrift is only one factor of rationalization. This is what we subscribe to, not losing sight of quality."

At the last meeting of the body of representatives in October, the delegates decided to open an account in which they will collect money to solve the heating problem of the clinics.

"It is no wonder that the news about closing clinics caused great consternation," said Dr. Rozalia Csehak, member of the local executive committee. "Such a decision touches the population on a sore spot. We hoped that we would succeed in 'shaking up' public opinion. We applied to companies and to private firms. Apparently the initiative had a positive echo. For

instance, the heating problems of the Csantaver [Cantavir] health clinic were solved within days, thanks to Antal Nagy and the local cooperative. So far, about 650,000 dinars were collected on the account No. 66600-789-686."

* * *

"I could not allow the clinic to be closed in which Dr. Vera Kovacic saved my life," said Branko Vaci. "One must not skimp on things like that, because it is mostly old people and children who go to the doctor. In this district clinic 8,000 citizens are registered. So far, I delivered 10 m^3 firewood, but if necessary, I will help some more. Before, we supported sports clubs, but times are different now...." Milan Malicevic, owner of the Profi import-export firm, and Olgica Basic Palkovic, store-owner, provided the Zombori street clinic and clinic No. 5, respectively, with firewood.

Kosovo

Bukoshi on 'Gradual Ethnic Cleansing' by Serbia

AU2701210193 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 23-24 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by Dardan Gashi: "Game With Weapons and People"]

[Text] Pristina—In the shadow of the Bosnia crisis, tensions are also increasing in Kosovo. The longer the Serbs delay the peace negotiations in Geneva, the more suspiciously the Kosovo Albanians react to this tactic of Belgrade. The Albanians do not believe in the peaceful intentions of Serbia. They see their fears confirmed by the result of the latest elections in Serbia.

In contrast to promises of Belgrade that it wants to calm the situation, repression has even increased, Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the Kosovo government, which has worked in exile since the violent abolition of autonomy by the Serbs, told DER STANDARD.

Lately the Serbian police have increasingly frequently entered Albanian houses to look for weapons. "The irony of this story: The families in whose houses no weapons are found have to buy one and hand it over to the police, otherwise they have to expect punitive actions. The second irony of this story: The weapons are sold for German marks by the Serbian secret service," said Bukoshi, describing the new dimension of Serbian repression in Kosovo.

The objective of his action and of the permanent oppression is to make life unbearable for the Albanians and to force them to emigrate, "a kind of gradual ethnic cleansing." "Therefore, we soon want to officially ask all Western governments not to grant asylum to Kosovo Albanians any longer and to authorize at best their temporary stay," Bukoshi said.

Bukoshi thinks that a peaceful solution in favor of the Kosovo Albanians is still possible, but everything depends on the Western governments. Although understanding and sympathy for the demands for an independent Kosovo are shown everywhere, action is necessary to prevent a war that would involve all of the Balkans. Threats from the Americans and NATO that Serbia would be punished if it were to provoke a war in Kosovo encourage Bukoshi, but: "It is our wish that this not have to happen. We are not interested in seeing Serbia's destruction, we only want our peace." But: "If Belgrade wants to build a Greater Serbia on the backs of 2 million Albanians by all means, we will use our right to self-defense."

Bukoshi Warns Against 'Premature' Intervention

AU2801105893 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 28 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by "kli.": "Warning Against Premature Intervention"]

[Text] Vienna—On 27 January in Vienna, Kosovo Prime Minister Bujar Bukoshi warned against a premature military intervention by the West in former Yugoslavia, which would lead to an escalation. All political opportunities have not yet been exhausted, Bukoshi said.

There are indications that the Serbs are prepared "to paralyze Kosovo overnight." In the event of massive provocations by Belgrade, Europe would be confronted with a massive flood of refugees, he said.

European Parliament Delegation Visits Pristina

AU2701132093 Tirana ATA in English 1136 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 27 (ATA)—The delegation of the republic of Kosovo met and had talks with the delegation of the European Parliament that is in the capital of the Republic of Kosovo, Pristina. The representatives of the European Parliament Doris Pak from Germany, Agosto Matovani from Italy, Jim Nicholson from Britain, Ari Oslander from the Netherlands and Pablos Sarlis from Greece were acquainted in details with the grave situation existing in all the fields of life in Kosovo. They were told that Kosovo is an independent and neutral state and that there is no comprimise on this matter. The German Doris Pak stressed that they had gone there to closely see and to testify to all what the people in Kosovo are actually experiencing. While the Dutch Ari Oslander stressed that oppression and discrimination exercised in a country and moreover those made on the human rights, without taking into consideration the national rights, make completely natural and legitimate the right for self determination.

Vojvodina

* Vojvodina Hungarian Politician on Elections

93BA0427A Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Sandor Pall, parliamentary representative and a district leader of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina, by G.B.J.; place and date not given: "VMDK Achieved Magnificent Results"]

[Text] The Serbian opposition is at least as nationalistic as the Socialists and the radicals, claims Dr. Sandor Pall, parliamentary representative and leader of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina [VMDK] in the district of Becse [Becej], according to whom the elections took place under very difficult circumstances.

[Pall] Several irregularities occurred; first of all, many people did not get on the lists of nominees. In Becse the district election committee allowed people to vote two days earlier, at noon on Friday; these votes were put in envelopes and the committee intended to count them as they pleased, which is definitely illegal. At the request of the VMDK, and through the mediation of Dr. Miklos Csapody, parliamentary representative (who followed the elections as a foreign observer), it was at last possible to prevent this from happening. But there were cases of fraud within the election committees, as well. Strangely enough, on their way from the districts to the municipal election committee, the election results changed, especially in areas where the competition was close, and the mandate of a representative depended on one or two votes.

[G.B.J.] It is, thus, believable that Milan Panic is also right in protesting irregularities in the presidential election, as well.

[Pall] I cannot prove that, only what happened to us in the municipal elections.

[G.B.J.] How do you assess the achievements of the VMDK?

[Pall] I think we achieved great results, especially in the municipal elections; there, we got everything that was possible. It is a shame that in areas where Hungarians live in a block, in Ada and Zenta [Senta], the Hungarians did not vote in great enough numbers, only about 60 percent of them, and so our list received less votes. Another thing: Dr. Tibor Varady definitely divided the Hungarians, because the winner of the Varady-Dr. Sepsey race was President Bozovic. The VMDK warned about this ahead of time.

[G.B.J.] Final results are still to be announced, but is it possible to know on the basis of partial results how many seats the VMDK acquired?

[Pall] We only have approximate data. I think that we will have one representative in each council of the federal parliament, and eight or 10 in the federal House of Representatives. However, the minutes from Szabadka [Subotica] and Becse have not yet been processed. Thus, we kept our previous position in both parliaments.

[G.B.J.] How did you do in the elections to the regional houses of representatives?

[Pall] Very well, although here, too, we can only rely on estimates.

[G.B.J.] In the municipal elections, the VMDK achieved a sweeping victory in towns inhabited by Hungarians. Can this lead to some sort of complications? Will the local Serbian population feel that they are oppressed by Hungarians?

[Pall] Hungarians have been feeling oppressed for 70 years.... This can only be a problem until the next elections, when we can decide in a democratic manner who will be in power.

[G.B.J.] It caused general consternation that the antiminority radicals, led by Seselj, got more than 20 percent on a national average; in Ujvidek [Novi Sad], for instance, 30 percent!

[Pall] The Serbs are becoming more radical. We are entertaining illusions when we say that this doesn't matter. Only the Hungarian minority can be made to believe that there will be a bourgeois society here, and that minority problems will be solved nicely. This theory is actually perilous to the Hungarians.

[G.B.J.] In your opinion, is there a chance that foreign pressure will force the Milosevic regime to make concessions?

[Pall] Unfortunately, the Serbian opposition allowed Milosevic to be elected now for the third time by ballots, and thus they gave him legitimacy. He can say: Gentlemen, I won the ballots. If we believe in democratic methods, then he cannot be toppled by outside force. The vice of the Serbian opposition is that they are at least as nationalistic as the Socialists or the radicals. The opposition doesn't ask the Socialists why they started the war, but rather why they didn't win it. The U.S. idea of sending people here instead of soldiers is obviously wrong. They tried to send Panic, Varady, Perisit, and Ms. Milentievic, all of whom lived longer in the United States than at home. They thought they could solve something with U.S. cadres. No, this is the Balkans; things are different here. When people asked me which presidential candidate they should vote for, I said that among the many bad ones they should choose Panic.